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THE APPARATUS AND THE WORKING METHODS
OF THE SED
(Socialist Unity Party of Germany)



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PREFACE

The attached study of the organization, functioning and methodology of control of the SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Socialist Unity Party of Germany) is the work of a single author. It was written in Germany by a young man who became a Communist toward the end of the Second World War, while living "underground" in Germany as a fugitive from the Gestapo. His conversion to Communism was motivated primarily by anti-Fascist and pro-democratic idealistic convictions; he was a victim of the wartime and immediate postwar "popular front" line. His intelligence, enthusiasm and outstanding organizational abilities led him rapidly to the top of the hierarchy; his warm personal manner of dealing with others won him many friends and confidants, as well as the ultimate wrath of the machine. After having been intimately associated with top-level organizational, cadre and "West German operations" work of the Communist Youth organization in Germany, with very close association at the same time with the highest level of the SED apparatus itself, he was caught in the backlash of the 1952/1953 purges and was forced to flee for his life in the fall of 1953. He now lives in Western Germany and is actively combatting the East German Communist regime.

This document, which is based almost exclusively on the author's personal knowledge, brought up to date by his discussions with later defectors and by following the overt intelligence closely, is a revealing insight into the working methods of a Communist Party in power. It

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shows how the Party works, and why; how a small body of men at the very top manage to control so tightly and absolutely the actions, words and thoughts of a large segment of the population falling within the organizational purview of the Party and its mass organizations, as well as the government. It examines the systems of control, direction and guidance; of jurisdictional delimitation; of security, cadre management and control.

The study has been translated and shortened, and footnotes have been added by the translator to elucidate certain points for the general reader. As much as possible, however, the original style has been maintained, including the use of a considerable amount of Party jargon, in order that the reader may become more familiar with these terms.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDENDA

Page 26, line 1: for prospective read perspective

Page 31, line 3: land is equivalent to state

Page 43, lines 21 and 22: for fulfillment of control resolutions read ful-
fillment or control of resolutions

Page 34, line 12: Zone is used to designate the Soviet Zone of Occupation,
and elsewhere now the East German "Democratic Republic", not
in study: including East Berlin

Page 70, line 1: Antifa schools were the political re-education and training
schools for Axis Prisoners of War in the USSR. Antifa
stands for Anti-Fascist

Page 105, footnote, line 11: for 1957 read 1956

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I. INTRODUCTION

In spite of a number of important changes in the political, economic and cultural structure of the East Bloc, little has been changed in the structure and methodology of the party apparatus of the Communist and Workers' Parties.¹ They continue to represent the backbone of the whole of public life. This becomes particularly clear in the light of official party statements, Khrushchev's as well as those of the SED, on questions of organizational work during the recent period. Just as did Stalin, Khrushchev attributes the greatest significance to tight organization of the party apparatus and unconditional adherence to the party statutes, and to the disciplined, firm control² over the accomplishment of resolutions. In his report to the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, he said on this subject, "The matter in question is to aim Party work toward the organization and education of the masses, toward the improvement of the management of the economy. In

1. The term "Communist and Workers' Parties" is standard Communist usage for the CP's of the Soviet bloc; some have changed their names in the course of absorbing the Socialist parties in their countries, during the process of taking power and establishing "People's Democracies". It will be remembered that the official name of the now defunct Cominform was "Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties".

2. The word "control" is used throughout this paper in the Communist sense. It denotes not only the exercise of directing, guiding or restraining power, but also the process of verification and check-up.

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order to raise the organizational work to the level of the tasks facing the Party, it is necessary to improve the Party apparatus in every way." In another place, in regard to checking on the obligations which have been assumed by the collectives and Party units, he said, "And is the fulfillment of these obligations checked on at all? No, it is not as a rule checked on. No one is responsible for the non-fulfillment of obligations, neither materially nor morally."¹

That is actually the same thing that Stalin said in his report to the 18th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1938: "A correct political line is necessary -- not that it be declared, but that it be transformed into fact; otherwise, we run the danger of letting the correct political line remain on paper. Given a correct political line, then the decisive point is control over the resolutions which uphold this line."

In his report Khrushchev continued, "In the struggle for the all-round improvement of the Party-organizational and Party-political work, the Central Committee attaches special importance to the selection and distribution of cadres, to steeling them ideologically, and to raising their qualifications for their work. In the activity of many Party organs they have forgotten the Party's demand that, side by side with the correct utilization of old cadres, it is necessary boldly to promote to leading posts young workers who have been tested in practice."

1. All quotations cited in this study are translations of the German manuscript, and do not necessarily coincide verbatim with the official English language versions of the sources quoted.

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This fundamental observation on the cadre and personnel policy of the CPSU jibes completely with the basic premises underlying Stalinist personnel policy. Stalin reported to the 18th Party Congress, "However, in order to transform the correct political line into fact we need people who understand the political line of the Party, who consider it their own line, who are ready to transform it into fact, who also know how to accomplish it in practice, and who are willing to assume responsibility for this line, to defend it, to fight for it. Of particular significance here is the question of the bold and prompt promotion of the new, the young cadres."

Stalin's methods of leadership, the leaders of the CPSU and the SED claim, are derived ultimately from Lenin's organizational system for the Bolshevik Party, which involves "the principle of centralism with a uniform statute, a uniform discipline, a uniform leading organ at the head, with the subordination of the minority to the majority, of the individual organizations to the center, and of the subordinate organizations to the superior." (From Lenin, One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward.) At another place Lenin states, "Now we have become an organized Party, and this means the creation of a power, the conversion of the authority of ideas into an authority of power, the subordination of the lower Party bodies to the higher." (From Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. VI, p. 291 of the Russian edition.)

Out of the unconditional subordination of the minority, the unconditional recognition of the statutes, there developed those Stalinist principles of organization which throttled all contradiction and all free discussion in the party and which even today are being used to bring the restive party membership back under the power of

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the leadership. This becomes especially clear in the statement of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the SED which was published under the title "On Discussion of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the 3rd Party Conference of the SED", in the central organ of the SED, Neues Deutschland, No. 162, dated 8 July 1956. This declaration, after somewhat hesitantly stating that a free expression of opinion within limits is now permissible in the Party, continues, "This naturally does not mean that libels against the Party or discussions controlled by the enemy will be tolerated. The Party has given itself a statute which clearly defines the rights and obligations of Party members, and which has been based on the decades-long experiences of the German and the international workers' movement. Adherence to this statute is and remains law for every Party member. The preservation of the principle of democratic centralism also belongs to this question. This principle says, among other things, that all resolutions of the higher Party organs are binding for every subordinate organization, and every Party member is obligated to fight actively for the realization of Party resolutions."

In spite of the 20th Party Congress, nothing essential has changed in the structure and methods of the tremendous, bureaucratic Party apparatus. In order to be able to measure the extent and the significance of this apparatus, and to achieve an idea of the leadership methods which not only have been worked out in every small detail, but which put the Party leadership in the position to control and direct the state apparatus, the economy and the entire public life of the state, it is necessary to examine in detail the structure of the SED and of its central apparatus -- the working principles,

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the working methods, the selection of personnel, and the technique of work organization. Only if one recognizes the extent of this tremendous apparatus, which weighs oppressively on the entire population, and only if one has studied its methods, can one comprehend that it is by no means sufficient to eliminate the "cult of the personality" in order to eliminate the Stalinist system and introduce a true process of democratization. Only when the rigid forms of structure and methodology of the Party apparatus have been relaxed and democratized, when the co-determination of the workers in the processes of production and the selection of personnel no longer supports the power positions of the "apparatchiks"¹, can one speak of a process of de-Stalinization which truly embraces the whole system.

1. "Apparatchik" is a Russian term, widely used throughout the Communist movement. It is used, for the most part rather disparagingly, to designate the Party bureaucrats (i.e. members of the "apparat"); formerly, it was used in a favorable sense to designate (1) those on the "inside" of the movement, and (2) those in clandestine or conspiratorial (illegal apparatus) work.

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II. THE STRUCTURE OF THE SED AND ITS CENTRAL APPARATUS

It is necessary to explain briefly the structure of the SED, because without this structure and its basic principle, "democratic centralism", all the other control methods would hardly be workable. It must be mentioned briefly that, especially in the course of the years 1948 to 1953, changes of a fundamental nature took place. They consisted primarily of the liquidation of concessions which had been made to the SPD¹ right after the war, in order to ease the unification of the Socialists with the Communists.

The Structure of the SED

The first Party statute of the SED, that of 1946, granted to the lower echelons of the Party a relatively large degree of independence. The obligations of the Party members were formulated only in very general terms, and the question of the rights of every Party member occupied a relatively broad space. The 1950 statute completely shifted the balance in favor of a rigid and central leadership. While, for example, in the first statute of 1946, a comparatively broad inner-Party democracy was recognizable -- Party Congresses at that time were supposed to be held annually -- the

1. SPD - Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands - Social Democratic Party of Germany, forcibly merged with the Communist Party of the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany in April 1946. It continues to exist widely in "underground" status in Eastern Germany.

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Party statute of 1950 decisively restricted this inner-Party democracy. This was expressed, for example, in the fact that Party Congresses were to be held only every four years.

This gave the leadership¹ the opportunity to dominate the Party without restriction for four years, without the Party membership having the chance to exercise any significant influence over the policy of the leadership, for example through new elections. These changes were by no means merely formal in character. With the statutes of the SED of July 1950, resolved at the 3rd Party Congress, a new, more rigid era was introduced which became known under the slogan, "the creation of a party of a new type". This "new type" consisted essentially in the fact that the Social Democratic elements still present in the leadership of the SED were eliminated virtually completely and the SED was systematically molded to the forms and methods of the Russian Party according to Stalin's principles. The Party Directorate was transformed into a Central Committee. The hitherto leading organ, the Central Party Secretariat, was transformed into a Politburo and a Working Secretariat, and the Party press and the state organizations were likewise adapted to the new conditions. The later reorganization of the administrative structure of the Soviet Zone, in which the states and the state parliaments were dissolved and sixteen districts with district councils were created, was also one more step toward

1. In Communist parlance, the term "leadership" less frequently connotes the abstract qualities of a leader than it does the collective body of persons through whom leadership is exercised.

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the Sovietization of the Soviet Zone of Germany. Through this administrative reform, parallel to the changes in the Party structure, the rights of the individual states were further restricted, greater and stricter centralization of control was made possible, bourgeois elements still in existence were removed from power¹, and power positions and the greater influence were allocated to the SED.

The structure of the SED after the reorganization looks essentially like this: Outwardly, the highest organ of the SED is the Party Congress, which is to be convened every four years. The Party Congress elects the Central Committee, consisting of 100 to 120 members, as the body which is to conduct the affairs of the Party between Party Congresses. The Central Committee, then, selects from its midst the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, the two working bodies which are to conduct the affairs of the Party between the individual sessions of the Central Committee, held as a rule every four months. These two working bodies are accountable to the Central Committee. In practice, however, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee are the sole, unrestricted masters of the Party. The Politburo prepares the sessions of the Central Committee, works out the documents, and even

1. In the early years after the war, the administration and government of the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany was a form of Popular Front, complete with church party and even a mildly national-conservative party. In later years, these "front" elements were gradually reduced in stature and excluded from positions of power and influence, so that they now represent nothing but SED puppets.

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proposes to the Party Congresses all members and candidates to be elected to the Central Committee. Prior to receiving the pro forma endorsement through "elections", the proposed nominees for membership on the Central Committee, Politburo and Secretariat are not only selected by the top Party leadership, but they are thoroughly screened by the large, full-time, paid apparatus which subserves the Central Committee. In this way only those functionaries can be elected into the Central Committee or other Party leadership bodies who are acceptable in the first instance to the Politburo, but ultimately to SED First Secretary Walter Ulbricht.

The Politburo and the Secretariat make use of a Central Committee apparatus which consists of over a thousand people. This apparatus is elected by nobody; its individual functionaries, from department chief down to charwoman, are hired on the basis of a personnel or cadre screening. The cadre policy¹ work of the Central Committee expresses most clearly the dictatorial character of the Party.

In addition to the Politburo and the Secretariat, the Central Committee elects the Central Party Control Commission. The Central Party Control Commission has the duty of suppressing all opposition in the SED, of liquidating (in closest cooperation with the organs of State Security) all Party functionaries who think

1. The term "cadre policy" is used extensively in German Communist jargon; it refers to the over-all system of cadre selection, development, management and control, as well as the body of policies, regulations and procedures which govern the system.

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differently from the leadership, and of acting on all moral and other misdemeanors by leading Party functionaries. The Central Committee also appoints the editorial bodies of the central publications and designates the Party organizers in key industrial and economic enterprises.

After 1950, alongside the Party Congresses, the institution of Party Conferences was introduced, after the Soviet model. According to statute, the Party Conferences do not have the power to undertake cadre changes in the Central Committee. The Conferences have the task of "conferring" on particularly significant resolutions and decisions in Party policy which are so basic in character that it appears advisable to the Politburo to present them to a broader body and permit this body to "resolve" them. The Conferences, which can be convoked at any time, are also attended by delegates selected by the individual Party leaderships from the base upward, according to long-standing and proven methods.

For the Party Conferences as well as for the Party Congresses, the Central Committee -- i. e. in actual fact the Politburo of the Central Committee -- has established detailed regulations which from the very outset assure participation of true-to-the-line functionaries only. These regulations stipulate precisely what category of functionaries and members can be considered for selection as delegates. Previous political reliability, above all vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, a model attitude toward the various systems for exploiting the economy, attitude toward the "national armed forces"¹ and many

1. The term "national armed forces" refers to the German "Nationale Volksarmee", which grew out of the

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other political characteristics are pre-conditions for delegation to such a Congress. If these various characteristics do not apply to an individual delegate, the lower leaderships (whose full-time functionaries are completely dependent on the superior leadership) can prevent his participation in the delegation. But the regulations not only govern the political selection, they also determine the total number of delegates from a given district and the breakdown of this number: how many women, men, youths, how many workers, office employees, engineers, scientists, farmers, etc. are to participate.

In addition, the Politburo controls directly a number of key positions in the economic and state apparatus. Thus, the political departments in the motor-tractor stations, the Party Secretaries in the larger enterprises and the entire body of the armed forces are exclusively under the control of the Politburo, and their leading functionaries are assigned and directed by the Politburo.

To control the economic base of the Party, the Politburo has at its disposal a central agency for the

armed, barracked special military units of the so-called "People's Police". The reason why the attitude toward the "national armed forces" is a criterion for delegation to a Party Congress is that for years after the war the basic line of the German Communist movement was against any form of German military organization. The shift in the line, when it was decided to take the wraps of camouflage off the East German military establishment, was hard for many German Communists to swallow.

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management of all Party business and properties. This administrative apparatus, known as Zentrag, holds title to all Party office buildings, Party schools, Party farms, hotels and restaurants, Party movies, publishing houses, printing plants, recuperation and rest homes, and the like. Thus in this field also the power position of the Politburo is sovereign. However, it is possible for such a very small body to guide and control such a vast complex only if it has a large support mechanism in the form of an extensive apparatus.

The Apparatus of the Central Committee of the SED¹

The apparatus of the Central Committee of the SED, which is subordinate to the Politburo, is organized in departments. There are more than twenty-five different departments of the Central Committee²: for example, the Propaganda Department, the Department for Mass

1. The Apparatus of the Central Committee of the SED is the headquarters establishment which is maintained to carry out the day-to-day business at the top level of the Party. It functions in the name of the Central Committee, on instructions from and in support of the Politburo and the Working Secretariat.

2. It should be remembered that the responsibilities and work of a CP in power are much more extensive than those of a CP not in power; as a result, the CC apparatus of a CP in power will contain a number of departments or sections which are not found as a rule in the organizational structure of a CP out of power.

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Organizations, the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations¹, the Department for State Administration, the Department for Science and Universities, the Department for All-German Work², the Department for Belles-Lettres and Art, the Department for Planning and Finances, Department M (the military department, including also "state security"), the Department for Foreign Policy and International

1. This department, also referred to simply as the "Leading Organs" Department, was formed in 1952 by a merger of the Organization and the Cadre Policy Departments. After the 30th Plenum of the CC (January-February 1957), it was dissolved again and the separate departments Organization and Cadre (or Cadre Policy) were reestablished. These formal changes and variations, however, have essentially no effect on the system and working methods.

2. This super-department is concerned with the over-all coordination and guidance of all Communist operations (except for those of the professional intelligence services) from Eastern Germany into Western Germany (frequently referred to as West Work). The name has changed a number of times in the past and will probably change in the future. The original body was known as the West Commission. It is responsible not only for Party operations, but also, more or less at staff level, for those of the mass organizations (including the so-called bourgeois political parties). Within most of the Departments are special Sectors for All-German Work, which are subordinate to the Department for All-German Work, but which are responsible for West Work in their respective fields.

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Relations¹, and many others. These departments as a rule are headed by a department chief and one or more deputy department chiefs. The number of deputy department chiefs is determined by the size and organization of the individual department. Thus, for example, the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations has three deputy department chiefs who share the various working areas of this most important department of the Central Committee, for example, Party Life, Party Information, Mass Organizations, etc. Other departments, for example the Department for Planning and Finances, have only one deputy department chief, who is specifically concerned with one of the working areas in this field. There are, however, also departments which have a department chief without deputies, like the Department for All-German Affairs. Within the various departments there are sectors, which are composed of a sector chief and a varying number of co-workers and "instructors".² Such a sector comprises, as the name indicates, a special area of the individual department. For example, the Agricultural Department is divided into a Sector of Motor-Tractor Stations, a Sector for Agricultural Production Communes, a Sector for Statistics and Planning, a Sector for State Farms, etc.

1. This is the SED's International Department or Foreign Section. It is composed essentially of two elements, one concerned with foreign policy proper (a Party in power), and the other concerned with international Communist liaison. The latter is the primary function of the equivalent department or section in a CP out of power.

2. The term "instructor" is used throughout in its specific Communist sense, not in the sense of "teacher".

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Since 1952 or the beginning of 1953 most departments have had, in addition to the specialized areas, sectors for cadre (according to the Soviet model), whereas up until that time the whole personnel policy work was concentrated in one central Cadre Department. The Cadre Department was decentralized so that each department could concern itself with personnel policy questions in its field of endeavor.¹

We shall now examine the methods through which the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the SED ensure the guidance and direction of these departments down to the last "instructor", the way in which the results of the work of the departments are passed on to the lower organizations of the Party, state organs and mass organizations, and the way in which the results of this activity are systematically controlled.

In Communist practice, the "instructor" is a special representative of a headquarters element dispatched on both general and specific tasks having to do with guidance, control and inspection in operational field situations; he may also be charged with a general review and investigation of an organizational element of the Party or a mass organization. In the Free World, for example, a CP may dispatch a team of special "strike instructors" to take over, guide and coordinate -- and frequently lead personally -- the CP's efforts to lead a strike movement.

1. See footnote 1, page 13.

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III. THE WORKING PRINCIPLES

In considering both the work organization and working methodology of Communist organizations, the basic, classical Leninist-Stalinist working methods must be distinguished from the working technique and organization which, while deriving their essential basis from the working principles, nevertheless are not so fundamental, dogmatic or unchangeable as the former.

The classical working methods of Communism, which were dealt with especially extensively by Stalin at the 17th and 18th Party Congresses of the CPSU, but which had been formulated previously by Lenin in the formation of the Communist Party and in the struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, are the actual skeleton of the organizational work of all Marxist parties and are completely valid even in the period of de-Stalinization.

The Role of Resolutions

The whole of Communist activity, in the political and organizational, in the economic and in the cultural fields, consists of the execution of resolutions passed by the Central Committee. The whole scope of organizational activity consists essentially of transmitting the resolutions, decisions or directive instructions from the highest organs -- through systematic and planned organizational policy -- down into the very lowest units of the Communist organizations, and there convincing the members of the correctness of the resolutions by all possible means; of guaranteeing the accomplishment of the resolutions; of watching over their accomplishment;

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and of reporting upward through a corresponding reporting system the results, i.e. the effect. On the basis of the reports received, the leadership is able to make new decisions which again are precipitated in the form of resolutions. All other questions of working methodology are subordinated to this very general directive skeleton. The words of Stalin, "Once the correct political line is given, the organization decides all", or Lenin's words, "Organization is everything", point clearly to the fact that the Communists have recognized well that decisive significance lies with the working methods, and especially with the accomplishment of resolutions once they have been passed.

These principles are by no means inventions of the Soviets or of Marxism. They have their roots in the principles of rational management of enterprise. In one of his speeches, Stalin pointed out that it should be a special aim of Communist functionaries to "combine the revolutionary Communist spirit with the cool objectivity and efficiency of the American businessman". Nevertheless, it is understandable that in a system in which all private initiative perforce must be eliminated, special methods have to be found in order to achieve this objectivity, concreteness and a corresponding consciousness of responsibility. Andrei Zhdanov said at the 18th Party Congress of the CPSU, "Control over the execution is the most important weapon against stagnation in the work, against rot. It is the most important means of preventing the work of the enemy; where the control over the execution is properly organized, the enemy is crippled."

Criticism and Self-Criticism

One of the most important means to achieve this is by constant critical examination of one's own work, or

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expressed in Communist jargon, the application of criticism and self-criticism. On the basis of the by no means new recognition that a thing can be done thoroughly and well only if all weaknesses and failures in its accomplishment are recognized promptly, the constant critical examination of the accomplishment of the individual resolutions has become one of the main principles of the working methods. It need scarcely be mentioned that criticism, in this case, under no circumstances may include criticism of the resolutions themselves. The resolutions passed by the Central Committee are taboo for all functionaries. A change in their content or formulation is impossible. This is anchored in the statute of the SED, camouflaged under the concept of democratic centralism. Permissible criticism consists only of control by members of the subordinate leaderships or units over whether the responsible functionaries are properly fulfilling the resolutions of the central leadership. This is supposed to lead them to take a self-critical position if a central resolution does not achieve the results which the central leadership intended it to achieve. The use of criticism and self-criticism in this way leads in the end to mutual stool-pigeoning among the subordinate functionaries and members as well as in the superior leaderships, and thus creates that discipline ("subalternism") which the Communist leadership needs in order to whip through its political line and secure the much-discussed loyalty to the line. The directives are untouchable, and all responsibility for their accomplishment is delegated to the subordinate organs; every failure is passed on to the lower functionaries through statements calling for self-criticism and leads to often curious forms of self-flagellation. The principle of criticism and self-criticism is one of the essential pillars of the Communist system.

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In its application the higher leadership has an excellent opportunity to screen and evaluate the lower functionaries. In addition, through this principle, all dependent organs are kept in a constant state of insecurity which makes it easier for those who hold the power to dominate the apparatus. The principle of criticism and self-criticism, through years of education, becomes a part and parcel of the individual and it is an important means of dominating him.

This method of criticism and self-criticism also plays an important role in the selection of functionaries and offers some inducement for the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of planned goals. Criticism and self-criticism are practiced not only in the small room, or between superior and subordinate, or from co-worker to co-worker¹, but rather in meetings, large conferences, and even public demonstrations, so that those responsible are humiliated before their entire enterprise, their whole environment, and the press, radio and other publicity organs often disseminate such self-critical statements. No matter how distasteful such a situation may be to those concerned, there is nothing else for them to do. Since criticism of the resolutions of superior organs is not permitted, they can do nothing but assume all the blame for themselves if they want to retain their positions, their freedom, or even in some cases their lives.

1. Communist functionaries are divided into categories of "co-workers", e.g. "technical co-workers", "political co-workers", which designate a class of employees irrespective of physical or specific substantive proximity.

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The Question of "Contact with the Masses"

The Communists like to justify the need for criticism and self-criticism as a proper method for maintaining a close tie between the leadership and the masses of the working people. In the Communist standard work History of the CPSU, Short Course (page 450 of the German edition), and in a number of speeches by Lenin, there is a constant recurrence of the legend of Antaeus, who lost his strength when he lost contact with the earth. This example is used again and again in order to spur the people on to criticism and self-criticism. The problem of contact with the masses is also of extreme importance as a part of the working methods, because the Communists see in it the sounding of the attitudes of the masses, at least insofar as their reaction to one or another resolution of the Central Committee is concerned. This is not done to make a needed change in the resolution, since that would be a violation of Communist principles and would be described as "giving way before the attitude of the masses", as "defeatism", and as "tailism". It would be done only to make tactical adaptations in the resolution to the attitude of the masses, to push it through on the basis of intensified agitation or even through the use of force. On another level than the principle of criticism and self-criticism the slogan "Keep your ear constantly among the masses" enables the Communist leadership to improve its tactical moves and to heighten uncertainty and fear in the population, thereby contributing generally to a better control over the accomplishment of the resolutions.

The recent process of de-Stalinization is to be viewed in the end along the same lines. It developed from domestic and foreign policy considerations after Stalin's death

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because a sounding of the attitude of the members of the CPSU and other Communist and Workers' Parties indicated that opposition had grown to considerable proportions. The leadership of the CPSU came to the conclusion that, without a relaxation of the Stalinist course, their own existence would be threatened. For this reason they threw all the Stalinist ballast overboard in order to be able to assert their own positions and to continue their fundamental policy, the striving for world revolution, under a new cloak.

"Concretism" and Reporting

Another significant principle in the working methods of the Central Committee is what they call "concretism". By concreteness they mean objectively exact facts, lined up one next to the other, in order to permit a check on the accomplishment of the resolution.

Both in the formulation of a resolution and in reporting on its accomplishment, an important working principle of the SED requires objectivity, punctiliousness and exactness. On the basis of lessons which the CPSU has drawn from its own mistakes, the SED has come to the conclusion that a resolution achieves its purpose only if it is formulated exactly and precisely, so that the subordinate leaderships cannot interpret it as they want, but are bound to a most precise implementation of what is required from above.

In reporting, also, the requirement for preciseness is applied. The reports cannot contain general formulations; they must be concrete and report objectively point by point how the appropriate resolution was fulfilled. This requirement is one of the reasons for the passion for

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questionnaires which prevails in the SED. For every resolution the corresponding departments frequently issue questionnaires with fifty or more questions which are supposed to assure the desired concreteness in reporting. Since, however, many resolutions contain ideological political tasks, the accomplishment of which is supposed to be controlled on the basis of formal questionnaires, it often happens that the reports miss the heart of the problem and contain only statistical results which are in considerable contradiction to the actual situation. Thus, for example, it frequently happens that reports on the "Party School Year" indicate that in District X 180, 000 comrades participated in the study, that these 180, 000 were grouped together in 900 circles which were visited by 600 speakers, who in turn were grouped together in 60 speaker aktivs¹; further, that so many speaker training sessions were carried out, in the course of which so many lectures were given, that the following important questions came up during the circle evenings, and that the average discussion participation was such a per cent. Statistically, these reports might have a certain amount of significance. They also satisfy completely the requirement for bureaucratic concreteness. Nevertheless, they lead to completely false

1. The term "aktiv" has been taken over from the Russian; it is widely used, especially in European CP's. The term "activist" is related to and derived from it. It denotes a group within a group, i.e. that body of especially active, loyal and dependable militants within a given Party organization who are depended on for (and are responsible for) the "activation" of the rank and file. The "aktiv" of any party organization is its heart, made up of its key and most active members and functionaries.

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conclusions, since they do not and cannot show what the actual attitude of the individual schooling victims was to the problems that were discussed, how active their participation was, and what conclusions should be drawn from these facts. This is not possible first of all because, up to the 20th Party Congress, no one dared to voice his true opinion, since in doing so he had to fear being treated as a Party enemy and thus being subjected to severe economic and even personal dangers.

Even after the 20th Party Congress it has not been possible to criticize the system openly. In the declaration of the Politburo of the SED, carried in Neues Deutschland on 8 July 1956, this question was discussed as follows: "In enemy propaganda the claim is made that the mistakes of Stalin have their roots in the Soviet system and in its social and state order and in Marxism-Leninism generally. This requires a resolute struggle against every influence of bourgeois ideology among Party members and the workers." An article from Pravda of 16 July 1956, which was carried in Neues Deutschland on 18 July, goes even farther. It states that the fundamental conflicts in Hungary were "under the influence of imperialist circles abroad". Thus, the limits of freedom of discussion have been drawn.

The "Key Link" as a Working Method

Another important problem in the working methodology is to determine the so-called "key link" in the work. In principle, it amounts to the following: because of the Communist system, which seeks to direct all social relationships uniformly and centrally, all fundamental resolutions have a tremendous scope and deal more or less with all the problems of man in his societal context.

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They therefore bristle with a multiplicity of tasks, all of which are supposed to be accomplished by one leadership. In a normal democratic state the majority of these questions would be left to private initiative or to the natural social existence of the people. In Soviet Germany, however, where everything is planned and directed, and where the SED jealously guards its control over all these questions, it is not rare that, at one session of the Secretariat or the Politburo, sixty to one hundred more or less extensive resolutions are passed. In the end they land with the lowest Party unit, which is made responsible for the actual accomplishment of these resolutions. Even the Communist rulers realize that a county or district leadership, or even a basic organization, which frequently has no more members than a single department of the Central Committee, is by no means in a position to deal equally with all of these resolutions. To simplify and lighten the tasks of the lower leaderships, Stalin propounded the key link concept in tactical leadership, "...to locate at any given moment the particular link in the chain of processes which, if grasped, will enable us to hold the whole chain and to prepare the conditions for achieving strategic success.... 'It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of socialism or a Communist in general,' says Lenin. 'One must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link!'" /J. Stalin, Problems of Leninism, English language edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, pages 91 and 93./ It is nothing more than an admonition to arrange the resolutions to be implemented in such a way that, when applicable, the resolution which subsumes the others, or whose

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implementation is prerequisite to, or will enable, the accomplishment of the others, should be tackled first. In this way the higher leaderships are absolved from the task of seeing to it that their resolutions are not repetitive, inconsistent, and misdirected through an erroneous impression of significance created by the inclusion of an excessive amount of detail. At the same time the higher leaderships transfer to the lower leaderships the responsibility for failure to implement the resolutions properly, by leaving them open to the charge of improper work methods in failing to select the correct "key link".

On Work Planning in the Central Committee of the SED

It is understandable that a Party leadership which at the same time controls an entire state apparatus and all social forces cannot work only with individual, more or less coincidental resolutions. The activity of the various leading organs must be carried out on the basis of definite plans. The system of planning has undergone considerable changes during the years 1949-1956. At first there were the annual plans. After the 3rd Party Congress, however, they changed over to the Soviet system of quarterly work plans, broken down into monthly plans. These plans contain in principle the most important tasks of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee for the coming quarter in all areas of political, social, state, economic and cultural life. These plans are the foundation for the work-planning of the individual departments, which submit to the leadership bodies (Politburo and Secretariat) their draft resolutions on the basis of the plans. In these plans the old system of improvisation which prevailed in the CP until 1945 has been replaced by a concrete methodology of planning.

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The setting up of outline plans, prospective plans, quarterly plans, state and economic plans often created tremendous confusion in the leadership bodies of the SED, the government and the mass organizations, so that there was a pressing necessity to create a uniform system of work planning and coordination for the Party, state apparatus and social organizations. This uniform system was adopted at the June 1953 SED organizational conference and is still in effect.

At the top of the pyramid of plans is the quarterly work plan of the Politburo of the Central Committee. This quarterly work plan contains the essential, expected resolutions, campaigns and dates for the coming quarter and has to be completed at least one month before the beginning of the quarter. Such a plan, for example, for the second quarter, would be built up around the preparations for spring planting, the celebration of the 1st of May, etc., thus being devoted to events and measures of the appropriate period which recur again and again by routine. In this quarterly plan, the Politburo assigns to the Secretariat, the district Party leaderships and the departments deadlines by which the most significant fundamental tasks for the coming quarter are to be presented to the Politburo for decision. Included in the quarterly plans of the Politburo are specific deadlines and personal responsibilities.

The Secretariat and the individual departments then base their quarterly plans on the quarterly plan of the Politburo. Although the Secretariat and departmental plans are in principle very much the same as the Politburo plan, their content is considerably more explicit and includes certain organizational questions affecting the realization of the various tasks.

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In the quarterly plan of the Politburo, for example, there is only a certain deadline on the question of spring planting. By this date, a draft of the appeal of the Central Committee and an over-all plan for the mobilization of all necessary reserves are to be worked out and presented. In the quarterly plan of the Secretariat, there are more detailed amplifications of these points, such as which departments, ministries and social organizations are to present drafts on which individual questions by what date. The quarterly plan of the Agricultural Department provides in even greater detail what "instructor" assignments, investigations, resolution drafts, and organizational measures have to be made in specific detail, in order to "concretize" the over-all task in the quarterly plan of the Politburo. These quarterly plans are also transmitted to the district Party leaderships, which in turn build their plans around them.

Since the departmental plans have become very extensive as a result of their detail, it has gradually become the practice to break down the quarterly plans into monthly plans. Each individual functionary in the department, each sector chief now works out on the basis of the available quarterly plans the monthly plans for his sector and his own personal plan.

Since at the beginning there was an excess of plans, an attempt was made to set them up with considerable room for maneuvering, so that they also contained an opportunity to work into them elastically tasks which came up outside the framework of the plans. This was necessary because the quarterly plans contained only the standing outline tasks, whereas in the course of a quarter a number of questions always came up which were not

provided for and in many cases even exceeded in number the tasks originally included in the plans. Particular significance was always attached to the personal daily plans of the individual functionaries. These daily or weekly plans were supposed to contain in complete detail what the individual functionary had to do every day on the basis of department planning. Thus a pattern was developed which permitted the individual functionary very little creative initiative and elbow-room. At the same time, however, it served to guarantee as close a control as possible over the activity of the individual functionary on the part of superior agencies. Through the rigid system of planning, even within the framework of political activity (which is very difficult to plan), a strongly bureaucratic, formal accomplishment of quota was favored. The individual functionaries, for fear of criticism, were greatly interested in formal fulfillment of the plan, much more so than in a thorough accomplishment of the individual resolutions and parts. Thus they frequently reported success and fulfillment of the plan, although in actual fact they accomplished nothing but the issuance of directives, without any genuine check on whether the individual measures were accomplished. This rigid planning also presented a serious obstacle to the development of the individual, since the plans offered him no room for his own thoughts. In the final analysis the over-loading which resulted from the plans led to superficial accomplishment of assigned tasks and to a headlong race, leading ultimately to virtual elimination of all aspects of individuality and personality. For the SED system, however, planning represents an essential instrument for the maintenance of its bureaucratic apparatus, for the consolidation of its own position, and for the prevention of ideological deviations; in short, for the maintenance of its centralistic power apparatus.

Rationalization of Work

Even today the SED is striving to realize Stalin's thesis of "combining the revolutionary spirit of the Communists with American efficiency." In order to find that concrete method of work which will help to realize the set tasks exactly, soberly and rationally, it is clear that this generally valid requirement is of extraordinary significance, especially for the apparatus, but above all in the economy. For that reason, an important working method of the SED leadership is that of economy, the rational commitment of assets and means, and rapidity, along with the constantly developing so-called "innovation methods" (e.g., Stakhanovism). The slogan, "Save with every gram, every minute, and every penny", is characteristic of this methodology. It is supposed to squeeze out of the apparatus functionary, the state employee, and the production worker the very last of his resources, so that he is able to accomplish the maximum possible in the quickest possible time with the least possible means.

This high intensity of the use of energy is supposed among other things to prevent functionaries from thinking, from becoming involved in fundamental discussions, and from having leisure for the study of works by Marx and Engels which are not provided for in the schooling plan.

The Party Organization in the Central Committee of the SED

The methods used to increase performance in the economy -- in general, the "performance principle", the various competitions, the system of premiums, wall newspapers, checkpoints, and "production conferences" -- are quite different from those used in the apparatus of the Party. Aside from the traditional and generally known

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methods of praise and control by superiors, the system of the Party organizations within the Central Committee of the SED is worthy of special attention in this connection. On the basis of the Stalinist principle that every Party member must be in a basic organization where he is socially active, in the course of the year 1950 basic units of the SED were formed in the Central Committee and in all other Party mass organizations and state administration apparatuses. In these basic units were organized all SED members who worked in the apparatus concerned. They paid their dues there and met for regular Party meetings.

This system can be traced back to the formation of the cells in the KPD¹ during the 1920's, introduced by Ulbricht² on orders from Stalin in order to suppress all freedom of discussion in the KPD. These organizational forms are unchanged today and continue to pursue the same purpose. Until the beginning of 1953 these basic units were not subordinated to the appropriate Party

1. KPD - Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands - Communist Party of Germany. This was the prewar name of the German CP; it was the name of the CP in Eastern Germany until the merger with the SPD in 1946, at which time it became the SED - Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Socialist Unity Party of Germany; and it remained the name of the CP in Western Germany (with the exception of West Berlin, where the SED exists).

2. Walter Ulbricht, present General Secretary of the SED (and hierarchically superior to Max Reimann, First Secretary of the now illegal KPD), was active in the KPD apparatus in the pre-1933 period.

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leadership in whose apparatus their members were employed (e.g. to the Central Committee), but to the appropriate land leadership in whose geographical area the corresponding Party apparatus was located. For the Central Committee of the SED as well as for the basic units in the government of the East German Democratic Republic, the Central Council of the FDJ, etc., this was the county leadership of the SED for Berlin-mitte. In the course of the year 1953 there was created in the SED district leadership for greater Berlin, in conjunction with its Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations, an office which was to guide and control the basic units of the SED within the Central Committee, the government, and the central leaderships of the mass organizations.

The fundamental thought behind these measures is primarily of methodological importance. These Party units were created in the attempt by the Communist leadership to assure multiple control of all leaderships and to be able to exercise pressure as broadly as possible on all co-workers, which would make an escape in any direction impossible and which would help to uncover even the smallest political or moral deviation. Their mission was not so much to give the co-workers of the Central Committee guidance for their work. This they received from their superiors on the basis of the resolutions of the Politburo and of the Secretariat. The basic units of the Party in the Central Committee had the task of watching over the work discipline of the individual functionaries, of checking constantly on their political and moral conduct, of observing their relations with their working colleagues, of calling to account vacillating or deviating functionaries, of examining through constantly recurring Party meetings the mood of the co-workers, of

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exercising pressure on them and keeping a constant eye on their "Marxist" study. At the Party meetings which take place periodically, the day-to-day problems of the Party are discussed, questions having to do with the improvement of the working methodology of the department. Individual comrades may be rigorously criticized, and in appropriate cases a report is made to the superior agency in the Central Committee. Through this system the individual co-workers of the Central Committee are not only guided and checked on by their direct superiors, the heads of the sectors, the department chiefs or even Secretaries of the Central Committee, but a "mutual control" has been created which observes, checks on and even spies on the individual Party functionaries throughout their entire lives, even including the private sphere. The fact that in these Party groups (each department of the Central Committee forms a Party group, and these are gathered together on a Central Committee basis in one basic unit) the typist sits next to the sector head and the Secretary offers the opportunity to play off the individual functionaries in the Central Committee against one another regardless of function, to humiliate them, and in the end naturally also to control and check on them. Although it has led to tremendous conflicts, this system has proved itself so well that in 1951 full-time Party Secretaries were appointed for the units in the Central Committee. The conflicts came about primarily because the issuance of political directives by the district and county leaderships was considerably behind the current tasks of the co-workers of the Central Committee. There were also conflicts because the leaderships of the Party groups of the individual departments of the Central Committee were almost never identical with the corresponding department leaderships, and thus the department chief (who ultimately was exclusively responsible for the

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work of the department) had a completely different point of view and concept from the head of the Party group, who in his full-time employment in the Central Committee was frequently only an "instructor", in many cases a clerical employee. Through these conflicts the leadership of the individual department in many cases was actually completely disoriented. In spite of that, however, this system was not eliminated, but rather expanded, which makes it clear that control and spying on every functionary appeared more important to the leading elements of the SED than frictionless, uniform guidance and control over the co-workers.

In treating the working methods of the SED it is important to discuss the role of the Party units in the Central Committee because, as has already been mentioned, one of their chief missions (aside from the spying on one another and the control over schooling), consisted in constantly reviewing and improving the working methods of the individual department. At the various Party meetings as a rule unpunctual functionaries were criticized, unfulfilled tasks were criticized, experiences were exchanged on technical office procedures, failures due to superior functionaries were brought up for discussion, and on the basis of these consultations resolutions were passed which were binding for all members of the Party organizations of the appropriate basic unit, and they were exhorted to increase work intensity. If serious differences arose between individual members of the Party groups, the leaderships of the groups formulated the necessary applications for punishment, transfer or dismissal, which were then submitted to the appropriate Party Control Commission, to the State Security organs, or to the heads of the departments who were particularly concerned with the question under

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discussion. Thus the basic organization with its subordinate groups played an important role in the framework of the Central Committee of the SED in the control over the accomplishment of resolutions, the improvement of working methods of the apparatus, and the mutual spying on the functionaries.

The Improvement of Political and Professional Qualifications of the Co-workers of the Central Committee of the SED

An important principle in discussing the working methods of the SED is constant political and professional "qualification", by which is meant improvement of the qualifications of the co-workers of the apparatus. In the Central Committee of the SED and by all Communists in the Zone, the Leninist principle, "In order to build up, one must know something, one must master knowledge; but in order to know something, one must learn, stubbornly and patiently," was interpreted to the effect that Marxism-Leninism was to be studied thoroughly in order to be protected against possible deviations and in order to master the working methodology of Communism. It would lead too far to examine in detail all forms of Party schooling in the framework of the Party School Year¹: the basic and advanced circles, the county evening school, the evening university, organized self-study, correspondence instruction by the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the

1. The "Party School Year" is a recurrent annual program to intensify the indoctrination and schooling program for the members and functionaries. All Party units have a quota of intensified schooling and delegation of students to boarding schools within the "Party School Year" program.

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Higher Party School "Karl Marx" and many other academies, colleges and Party "cabinets"¹. However, it is impossible to treat the working methods of the Central Committee and of the SED as a whole without mentioning Party study. In addition to the purely theoretical questions, the various levels of the Party School Year deal with problems of working methodology, especially based on the experiences of the Soviet Party. The statements of Stalin at the 17th and 18th Party Congresses, the speeches and essays of Kalinin on Communist education, the whole revolutionary development of Bolshevism, and many other factors are essential underpinnings of the working methods of the Central Committee of the SED.

1. The "Party cabinets" are special political study rooms and corners in various Party and administrative installations. Each member and functionary is expected to put in a certain amount of time in these "cabinets", where there are graphic and pictorial displays, literature, and propaganda, and where leading Party figures often deliver lectures on selected topics.

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IV. THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE WORKING METHODS IN THE SED

Having dealt by no means completely with the essential Communist working methods, we should now examine the practical forms in which they attempt to apply the principles of working methodology in actual practice.

The heart of the matter is arrived at most easily by recalling that all of the following methods originate in the desire to carry the resolutions which have been passed at the head down into the lowest unit, to assure a systematic control over their accomplishment, and to guarantee a return reporting which puts the leadership in a position to analyze the effects of its measures quickly, thoroughly and exactly.

The "Instructors" of the Central Committee and Their Assignment Methods

One of the principal methods in this field is that of "instructor" assignments.

Instructors of the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations

The Central Committee makes use of a number of full-time "instructors" of the Central Committee, who are gathered together in the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations where they form a special sector under the leadership of a deputy department chief. These are the so-called "general instructors", whose mission consists in carrying out investigations of the accomplishment of the resolutions

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in the individual district organizations of the SED and reporting on the results of their investigations. In this sector of the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations there are about sixteen to twenty "instructors". In most cases, each "instructor" has one district Party organization as his regular assignment area. Even if he is not physically in this district, he has insight into all reports submitted by the district to the Central Committee. He knows personally all the leading cadres of the district leadership and keeps careful record in an "instructor's book" of all essential changes which take place in this district. The assignment of these "instructors" usually takes place on the basis of a resolution of the department leadership, and in any given month may take an average of 30 to 50 per cent of the "instructor's" full time. These assignments, however, are by no means arbitrary or unplanned. They are governed by an "instructor order", which may cover certain questions for all "instructors" or in other cases may apply, depending on the nature of the resolution concerned, to a few districts or to one district. This "instructor order" is worked out by the "instructor" himself after he has been briefed by his superior concerning the purpose, the time, and the general methods to be used during the assignment. The "instructor order" also contains the length of time for the assignment, the questions which are to be checked on, and the various leaderships and organizations which are to be visited. The "instructor" fulfills his "instructor order" through participation in appropriate conferences and meetings, and in most cases also through a few measures intended to show by his own practical examples on the spot how the appropriate resolution can be carried out. After the "instructor" has carried out his assignment, he reports first orally, then in most cases also completes a detailed

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written report which, depending on its significance, may go only to the department leadership, sometimes to the Secretariat, or may even be presented to the Politburo.

Special "Instructors"

In addition to these general "instructors", who in their assignments are frequently concerned with both organizational and ideological questions, the individual departments have special "instructors" who conduct investigations and compile reports in similar form, only with the difference that they are limited in their assignments primarily to their special field, for example agricultural problems, propagandistic problems, etc. These are not always operative "instructors", as is the case with the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations; in most departments the individual co-workers and specialized functionaries frequently carry out this task. In the table of organization, they bear the designation "instructor"; this designation is considered one of the lower political functions in the individual leaderships. The name, however, was chosen at least partly in order to emphasize the mobility and operativeness of a great part of the full-time co-workers, and to express the centralist character of the leadership through their right to "instruct".

Brigade Assignments

Another form of "instructor" assignment is the organization of special brigades for the investigation of specific problems. These brigades are always assigned when the material which they are supposed to obtain is needed for an investigation of a fundamental nature. The results often find their way into resolutions or the speeches

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of leading politicians. These brigades are for the most part "mixed" brigades, i.e. depending on the purpose of their assignment they are composed of a number of special "instructors" together with some of the general "instructors", and may even include leading functionaries. The leader of such a brigade is frequently a Central Committee Secretary, at least a department chief. Also included in these brigades sometimes are part-time functionaries, for example elected members of the Central Committee, and often, depending on the character of the assignment, functionaries of the Central Council of the Free German Youth, the federation headquarters of the trade unions, or the national headquarters of the Democratic Women's League. Such brigades, which often include as many as fifteen members, are called together before their assignments, the general assignment plan is determined, and each member is given his concrete tasks according to his special abilities. On the basis of these discussions, then, the leader of the brigade compiles the over-all assignment plan, while the individual members of the brigade work out in writing their partial plans. The assignment usually runs to three or four weeks, but on complicated questions can last for several months, in which case the individual members of the brigade do not have to spend the entire time at the place of their assignment. In many cases, after appropriate initial activity, they return again to the Central Committee but from time to time go back to check on the measures which they have introduced on the spot. As a rule the assignment of such a brigade covers only the area of a district organization, so that a concentrated and thorough investigation can be made of the appropriate district organization, from the district leadership down to the basic unit, in all areas of political, state and cultural life. It also happens that such brigades are concentrated on one county or even on a single business enterprise.

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These brigades, then, invade the appropriate district organization, participate in all events within the individual parts of the organization, participate in the organization of activities, take part in all Secretariat sessions, and meet together from time to time in order to exchange experiences and undertake certain changes in the planning. At the end of the brigade assignment there is first a general discussion by all members of the brigade, at which they determine the line of further procedure. Then, there is a joint meeting of the brigade with the district secretariat of the appropriate district, at which the brigade presents its experiences for discussion and not infrequently exercises harsh criticism. This report is merely discussed. Then the brigade returns to the Central Committee and compiles its over-all written report. The further process depends on what the report was needed for. If it was intended to serve as the basis for a Central Committee resolution, the material is simply prepared in the form of a resolution draft. It often happens, however, that these brigade reports are used for the clarification of special problems or for the disciplining of certain functionaries. In this case the process is approximately as follows: the brigade makes its report and compiles its conclusions in the form of a resolution. The report and the resolution go in draft to all members of the Politburo and to all members of the Secretariat of the appropriate district leadership. Then a joint meeting is arranged between the Politburo and the District Secretariat at which, if particularly important questions are being dealt with, the First Secretaries of all other district leaderships also participate. For this meeting the District Secretariat, with the knowledge of the material from the brigade, prepares a so-called "counter-report" in which it treats the problems from its own point of view. However, most of the district

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leaderships in their own interests avoid disputing the results of the brigade investigations, since by doing so they would only add to all of the other negative factors the denial of self-criticism, arrogance, etc. At the joint final meeting, the brigade leader reports first of all, and then the District Secretary, and the latter almost always outdoes himself in exercising self-criticism, so that the ultimate storm of discussion does not become too dangerous. After the reports have been given and the discussion has been concluded, the First Secretary then summarizes the discussions, and as a rule there is a vote on the resolution prepared by the brigade. The resolution then is sent to all district leaderships, frequently it is also published in Neues Deutschland, and in any case it is binding for all units of the SED, the mass organizations and the administration.

The Part-Time Aktiv

Another working method in this area is the assignment of part-time "instructors", using the elected Central Committee members and SED functionaries whose full-time positions are outside the party apparatus. These groups are frequently designated as the "part-time Aktiv" of the Central Committee. This is a group of Central Committee members and helpers who are active in the administration, in production, agriculture and in other fields. They frequently receive Party orders from the Secretariat and from the Politburo, and also on less essential questions from the individual departments. In many cases the individual departments, according to their specific fields of responsibility, have their own "part-time Aktiv", composed of specialized personnel in the same general field as the corresponding department. The Agricultural Department, for example, makes use of a

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part-time Aktiv of a few true-to-the-line SED members who in their full-time jobs are employed in the Ministry for Agriculture, or as successful agricultural production commune chairmen, political leaders of motor-tractor stations, agronomists, and the like. A few of the elected Central Committee members in this occupational branch belong to the part-time Aktiv. The department assigns to one or several members of this Aktiv, depending on the nature of the task, a Party mission to investigate one or several specific questions at a certain place, or to do away with undesirable conditions, and then to prepare a report. The assignment of these part-time Aktivs is little different from the already described assignments.

Central Committee Organizers

Another important working method of the Central Committee for controlling the accomplishment of resolutions is the work of the Central Committee organizers. This method is considered so significant that it is expressly anchored in the Party statute (Chapter IV, Article 45, in the statute passed at the 3rd Party Congress of 20-24 July 1950, and Chapter IV, Article 47 A in the statute passed at the 4th Party Congress on 5 April 1954). The Party organizers are the First Secretaries of the Party organizations of the larger key industrial enterprises, the largest motor-tractor stations and agriculture production communes, and the most significant higher educational institutions. To give a few examples: in the Stalin iron forge combine, in the Riesa steel works, in the Buna and Leuna Works in Halle, -- in all, in about forty to sixty large industrial enterprises the Central Committee (in circumvention of the district leaderships) appoints the First Secretaries of the local Party organizations and confirms them with the designation "Organizers of the

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Central Committee". This obligates them to report first of all to the Central Committee on their entire activity. They receive their fundamental directives there, are paid by the Central Committee, and can also be removed at any time by the Central Committee. These organizers are frequently called to Berlin in order to report to the Secretariat, to a department, or even to the Politburo on the accomplishment of resolutions. Frequently they receive assignments from the Central Committee to carry out checks in similar types of industrial enterprises. Their written reports are regularly evaluated and used by the individual departments.

The Working Methods of the Publicistic Organs of the SED

Another important instrument for the direction and control of resolutions is the assignment and utilization of all publicity organs of the SED, as well as the People's Correspondents system. All publicizing organs of the SED -- Neues Deutschland, Einheit, and most particularly Neuer Weg, as well as all other central and district organs -- are used primarily for the fulfillment of control resolutions. More than fifty per cent of Neuer Weg, for example, deals directly or indirectly with questions of loyalty to resolutions and control over resolutions; criticizes ineffective fulfillment of resolutions; publishes examples of successful accomplishment of resolutions; and carries critical readers' correspondence on the fulfillment of resolutions. In addition to the utilization of the journalists and reporters of the various organs, the leadership makes use of a broad network of people's correspondents. These are part-time, independent co-workers who from time to time receive the mission of writing on this or that problem from their own immediate environment without informing

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their direct and immediate superior Party or state authorities of the fact. In this way, the leadership hopes to uncover failures which are obstacles to the accomplishment of resolutions and at the same time to stimulate the impression of broad democratic collaboration from below. That the people's correspondents can criticize only in line with the resolutions, while the resolutions themselves are untouchable, is a matter of course. The Central Committee, however, has created in these people's correspondents and in the publicizing organs in general an effective weapon for the transmittal and propagandization of its resolutions as well as for their control and implementation. As has already been mentioned, the wall newspapers have been drawn into service for implementation of resolutions. Each department of the Central Committee must prepare and maintain such a wall newspaper, in which the individual co-workers express their opinions on problems of working morale and loyalty to the resolutions, criticize one another, and often publish the results of their spying on one another.

The Method of the Written Directive

One of the main methods of making the Central Committee resolutions and directives accessible to the Party and all its affiliated organizations is the directive, circular or written instruction. These as a rule are resolved in the Secretariat and the Politburo, just as are the quarterly working plans and the monthly plans, and then transmitted by Central Committee courier as an irrevocable instruction or order to the district leaderships. In especially important and urgent cases, such directives are also transmitted by the Central Committee over the heads of the district leaderships directly to the county leaderships. Because of the tremendous

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centralization, this system of written circulars has grown to such an extent that even the not particularly courageous district leaderships can no longer stand the pressure and have openly tried to defend themselves against this flood of directives (cf. the 25th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED, discussion on 21 March 1956). Up to that time it was the order of the day that every week fifty or sixty directives were sent out to the districts and counties by the Central Committee, many of them comprising twenty to thirty pages. This abundance of instructions, many of which were contradictory since it was no longer possible to organize and keep track of them, led to such great lethargy and indifference in the lower organs of the Party that the authority of the Central Committee was seriously endangered by this factor alone. For that reason a halt was ordered. The issuance of circulars was rigorously centralized, the individual departments were deprived of their right to give binding instructions to the districts, and only the most important matters were included in directives issued by either the Secretariat of the Central Committee or the office of the Politburo.

Congresses, Conferences, Consultations, etc.

Another method consists in the holding of a great number of conferences, working discussions, and special congresses at all levels of the Party apparatus, in the economy, in cultural affairs, and in the mass organizations. These consultations, congresses and conferences differ in participation, composition, and purpose. Since the form of the meeting is determined exclusively by the purpose, it is difficult to point out particularly valid forms in this field. It is possible to present only the more typical.

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Discussions and Conferences with the First Secretary
of the Central Committee and the Other Members of the
Politburo and Secretaries

Periodically there are conferences of the First Secretaries of the district leaderships with First Secretary Walter Ulbricht. At these conferences all problems of the day are discussed, and often internal problems are treated which do not come up even at Central Committee meetings. These include secret recruitment quotas for the armed forces and the State Security organs, cadre policy changes in the Central Committee which are to be withheld from the public, etc.

First Secretary Ulbricht carries out discussions with the leaderships of the mass organizations from time to time, and has weekly conferences with the leading officers of the armed forces. Leading representatives of almost all ministries are received once a month by Ulbricht, and at these meetings all important decisions are made. Not infrequently Politburo members who are responsible for a certain sector in the administration learn from a third party what decisive measures have been taken behind their backs by Ulbricht. These conferences with Ulbricht also extend out into most areas of cultural life. He has periodic meetings with leading Party architects (architecture is a particular hobby of his), he calls in groups of artists, and checks regularly on the State Committee for Sports and Physical Culture, the Gesellschaft fuer Sport und Technik,¹ etc. These Ulbricht

1. Gesellschaft fuer Sport und Technik - Society for Sports and Technique, a physical culture type organization which is a key cog in the East German paramilitary training and development program. Small arms training is part of the program.

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conferences arise out of a firm plan and the instructions which are given have the character of top-level resolutions. Many state ordinances originate not in the Politburo but at such meetings. Similar meetings, though by no means so extensive as those with Ulbricht, are also held with other members of the Politburo and with the Central Committee Secretaries in their special fields of work. Conferences on a smaller scale are held in the offices of the individual members of the leaderships, or with their special functionaries in the various districts, and also over-all conferences on a large scale, for example conferences of agitators, organization and finance functionaries, etc. The materials, resolutions and speeches for such large conferences, as well as the resolution to organize them at all, come out of the Politburo or the Secretariat of the Central Committee, depending on the importance of the conference.

Working Congresses and Courses

In addition to the above-mentioned conferences, the leading functionaries often take charge of working congresses and courses for various special functionaries which may last from four days to a month. Such basic working conferences and courses are often held at the boarding schools of the Party, the Central Party School¹,

1. The Central Party School is one of several common designations for what is technically known as the Higher Party School "Karl Marx", the highest Party school in Germany. It is also known as the Party Academy, the Party High School, and the Karl Marx School; the differences result from common usage and matters of judgment in translation.

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or the "Walter Ulbricht Administrative Academy"¹.

Working Conferences of the Departments of the Central Committee

In addition to the above-mentioned official discussions, conferences and congresses, the individual departments of the Central Committee hold regular working conferences with their corresponding departments in the district leaderships or with subordinate functionaries from focal points at the base. There are periodic working discussions, for example, of all district co-workers in the Agricultural Department of the Central Committee of the SED.

Working Commissions

Commissions exist in the individual departments, composed of experts in various fields, which are regularly brought together by the appropriate department in order to carry out a task, or to serve as a scientific or specialized advisory council for the department. Thus, for example, in the Department for the Protection of the People's Economy (Department M) there is a recruitment commission for the People's Police, and in the Department for Science and Art there are a number of commissions for scientific and artistic occupational groups. These commissions, however, have no powers

1. The "Walter Ulbricht Administrative Academy" was established a number of years ago to train young German Communists to take over key jobs in the economy and administration of the East German "Democratic Republic"; it is not, technically, a Party School.

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and not the slightest possibility of intervening in any way in the policy of the Central Committee or of its departments. They are only consultative organs, which accept certain assignments and carry them out, or whose opinions and views the departments and sectors are interested in receiving. The extent to which these views are heard or acted on depends on the leading functionaries of the Central Committee.

Individual Discussions, especially for the Guidance of Mass Organizations, the Administration, etc.

In addition to these larger meetings there are a great number of individual discussions by the departments of the Central Committee with the individual co-workers of the subordinate departments or of the administrative authorities and other organizations which are under them. The departments of the Central Committee have at any time the right to call in co-workers from the mass organizations, the ministries and other groups which, depending on the character and jurisdiction of the department, are under them. They also have the right to order them to work out reports and to give them instructions. The various departments periodically gather together the co-workers in the same functional area from the Women's Democratic League, the Free German Youth, etc., demand reports of them and give instructions. All important decisions which pertain to the mass organizations must (insofar as they do not originate with the SED) be presented to the appropriate departments of the Central Committee before they can be voted on in the leaderships of the mass organizations. If, for example, the Labor Department of the Central Council of the FDJ intends to prepare a draft resolution for the Secretariat of the Central Council on the improvement of work in the basic

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industries, then the responsible functionary for this activity in the FDJ consults first of all with the chief or with a co-worker of the Department for Basic Industries in the Central Committee of the SED. After the fundamental questions have been discussed by these functionaries, the responsible FDJ Secretary, with his co-workers, prepares a rough draft. Before this draft is presented to the Secretariat of the Central Council, he again discusses it with the corresponding functionary in the Central Committee of the SED and makes any desired changes. Only then does the draft go to the Secretariat of the Central Council of the FDJ for discussion and formal resolution. It is obvious that such a resolution is of only formal character, since any change in the draft approved by the Central Committee is impossible. The example given applies to all other mass organizations, ministries, administrative agencies, and all other economic, political and cultural establishments. For especially important fundamental resolutions or decisive measures of any of these organizations, the resolution drafts are discussed first of all with the appropriate department of the Central Committee, then before being voted on in the appropriate leadership of the corresponding organization, they are presented to the Secretariat of the Central Committee or even, if important enough, to the Politburo. Only when the Secretariat or Politburo has passed a particular resolution does it return to the organization or institution concerned, where it is again formally confirmed. In such cases, changes in the resolution approved by the leadership body of the SED are impossible, except for minor stylistic matters which have no influence on the content. From this it is clear that all resolutions and fundamental documents of any central institution existing in East Germany have been approved by one of the Central Committee bodies before

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being resolved by the appropriate body of the institution concerned and thus are binding for all Party members. Since at the various conferences the Party members are always at least in the majority, the acceptance of such a resolution is a formal matter.

Special Conferences

An important working method of the Central Committee is the special conference. During the early years after 1945 guidance and direction were accomplished primarily by general conferences and meetings. In 1952, however, these conferences were carried out more and more with specialists, such as conferences of agronomists, working consultations of high-speed machine operators, writers, etc. At these conferences experiences were exchanged and resolutions were adopted which in essence had already been prepared by the Central Committee and thus were binding for all members of the appropriate occupational group.

Working Seminars

Another form of the working methodology, which is in a way connected with what has been described above, is the working seminar. These are meetings of a number of outstanding specialists in a certain field at which political or specialized themes are thoroughly discussed and a concentrate of the best experiences is then transmitted to all specialists in this particular field. These seminars are held most frequently in the field of economy, but also in the artistic or cultural sector.

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Lectures and Party Cabinets

Especially in the theoretical field lectures are often a form of guidance. They are given primarily in the Party cabinets and are often supplemented by visual aids and exhibitions. Such lectures are often given by the outstanding theoreticians of the Party "cabinet" in Berlin. The lecture then appears in printed form and serves as a basis for the treatment of the appropriate question throughout the entire Party. Motion pictures and stills are also used in these lectures.

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V. COOPERATION WITH ORGANS OF THE USSR

Until the so-called "declaration of sovereignty for the East German Democratic Republic" by the Soviet Union, all resolutions, documents, reports and drafts were automatically transmitted to the corresponding political departments of the Soviet Control Commission¹. Even though the names of these Soviet agencies have been changed, the principle of influence and control of the SED leadership by representatives of the CPSU continues.

The Soviet Communists, who now are in the Embassy, still receive all drafts, documents, resolutions and reports of the Central Committee of the SED, and make appropriate comments which are then worked into the resolutions or documents. In addition to the written materials, the Soviet political departments send representatives to all important meetings of the SED leadership. The First Secretary of the Central Committee has regular discussions on the policy of the SED with the Ambassador Extraordinary of the USSR, and with his deputy. Either the First Secretary is called to the Ambassador or one of the Ambassador's deputies visits the First Secretary of the Central Committee when it is necessary to discuss or decide an important question. From time to time the First Secretary of the Central Committee goes to the Ambassador or to his deputy in

1. The Soviet Control Commission was the central Soviet body in Germany after the cessation of military occupation in Germany. The United States equivalent was called the High Commission for Germany (Hicog). This should not be confused with a Party Control Commission.

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order to discuss the plans for the immediate future and also to present certain passages from coming speeches of a fundamental nature. For all other members of the Politburo it is impossible to propose fundamental changes once the position of the First Secretary has been based on such a discussion with the Soviet representatives.

In addition, the Soviet functionaries from time to time send investigative commissions which examine certain problems and questions of the SED, and make the results of their investigations the basis for a report to the First Secretary of the SED.

Frequently also, direct instructions in Russian are transmitted to the First Secretary. These he has translated and then submits them without any fundamental changes to the Politburo as a draft. This applies primarily to all foreign policy questions. If Soviet foreign policy makes it advisable to bring up a certain problem connected with the German question, the First Secretary of the SED frequently receives an appropriate directive at the same time that the question is brought up publicly in Moscow, and no fundamental changes are possible in this directive.

In addition, it is known that the First Secretary of the Central Committee and the Chairman of the SED travel periodically to Moscow in order to receive instructions.

In addition to the methods already described, for particularly important matters CPSU representatives come directly from the Soviet Union to Berlin in order to give instructions to the SED. This takes place behind the scenes, as for example in the course of the preparations

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for the last Federal election campaign in West Germany, but often is connected with official and publicly known visits, on the occasion of certain affairs such as Party congresses. The liaison link between the Central Committee of the SED and the Soviet agencies is the General Department of the Central Committee. All adopted resolutions, resolution protocols, and other documents are prepared in one additional copy which is sent to the Soviet offices.

Thus the Central Committee of the SED is under the direct control of the CPSU and is dependent on it in all important decisions.

The Example of the CPSU for the Working Methods of the SED

The experiences of the CPSU play a decisive role in the working methods of the Central Committee of the SED. Often without considering the special situation in Germany, the methods of the Soviet Party are taken over by the Central Committee of the SED in uncritical emulation, and it is fatal not to want to recognize any of these methods for German conditions. In questions of criticism and self-criticism, work planning, Party organizers, reporting, schooling, and even in technical matters (the establishment of card files, compilation of personnel questionnaires, etc.) the working methods of the Central Committee of the SED originate with the Soviet model and are imitated mechanically. This applies not only to the past but also to the present, i.e. not only the revolutionary experiences of the CPSU out of the past (for example, in the 1930's when the Soviet Union was in a stage of development similar to East Germany today) but also the latest advances of the Soviet Party are automatically taken over by the Central Committee of the SED, although there are in many cases

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neither historical nor practical connections in Germany for these methods.

A typical example of this was found in a few special exploitation methods. In order to exploit the workers against one another and to encourage a so-called competitive spirit in the factories as well as in the administration, in the earlier years in the Soviet Union they frequently used the so-called wall newspapers in order to illustrate the productive accomplishments of the individual colleagues on the basis of tables and graphic illustrations coupled with the names of the individuals. Since during the period under discussion in the Soviet Union at least a part of the workers concerned could neither read nor write and were generally rather primitive, they could not use normal graphic illustrations. Instead they replaced them with various animals whose speed in running was known even to the most primitive people. Thus it happened that a particularly good worker was shown in the form of a deer or a reindeer or a dog, while a lazy colleague appeared in the wall newspaper as a snail or a turtle. Through the idolatrous worship of the Soviet methods, this primitive system was taken over by the Central Committee of the SED for the Party, the administration, and the mass organizations. In this way, highly educated technicians and engineers, scientifically qualified political functionaries suddenly saw themselves reproduced in the wall newspapers as oxen, horses, automobiles or airplanes (at least in this respect they modernized a bit), or also as snails. It is obvious that such a system does not contribute to increased working morale.

Another striking example in this field is the planning in the Central Committee itself. Thus, within two years

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five different forms of working plans were introduced, discarded, and replaced by new ones. In the same period of time the number, names and organization of the departments were changed several times. Various reporting methods were tried without time having been taken to examine any of the methods for their successes or failures or for their appropriateness. They were changed every time a new functionary of the Soviet Control Commission came in from the Soviet Union and brought with him a new method of planning and reporting. For the individual co-workers it was impossible to exercise criticism, because this would have been taken as animosity toward the Soviets.

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VI. THE WORK WITH THE CADRES

One of the decisive questions, if not the decisive organizational question, for the SED is the problem of work with the cadres, i. e. the selection, assignment and control and check over the SED functionaries. According to Lenin's thesis that the accomplishment of resolutions depends on the selection and the development of people, the personnel policy work of the SED is viewed by the leading organs as being of most decisive significance. On the other hand, there is no problem among the working methods which demonstrates more clearly and extensively the fundamentally authoritarian and dictatorial position of the SED leadership than does its personnel policy work.

The domination of the tremendous Party and state apparatus as well as the social organizations in the political and cultural fields presumes by necessity that the selection, assignment and control and check over functionaries be centralized within the framework of the Central Committee of the SED. The uniform leadership of Party-state apparatus and mass organizations in the final analysis is guaranteed only by this central personnel policy direction.

Until 1952 the Central Committee used for this purpose a so-called Cadre Department in which the files on the leading figures of the Central Committee, of the government, of the mass organizations, etc., were collected. They were reviewed and screened from the personnel point of view, the necessary proposals for assignments were submitted to the Secretariat and the Politburo from this department for passing in the form

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of resolutions, and the department conducted investigations involving the disciplining of functionaries. In 1953, the large Cadre Department was reorganized and decentralized. The department itself was dissolved and after the Soviet model all essential departments of the Central Committee received sectors for cadre work which dealt with assignment and control of the functionaries in their fields of jurisdiction¹.

The Central Cadre Registry

There remained only a Central Cadre Registry², in which the personnel files of all functionaries within the jurisdictional framework of the Central Committee were kept, and which during the year 1953 attempted to consolidate the individual personnel files of the various functionaries which were kept at other echelons on the basis of former functions.

Of fundamental importance for the Central Cadre Registry, as well as for the methodology of personnel work in the Central Committee as a whole, was the "nomenclature of leading cadres" which had been passed in the form of a resolution by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. The word "nomenclature" means the determination of the sphere of responsibility and jurisdiction of the individual echelons and organizational units of the SED (for example, the Central Committee,

1. See footnote 1, page 13.

2. The Central Cadre Registry, after 1952 a Department in status, is now probably under the jurisdiction of the Cadre Policy Department.

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the district leadership) over the various functionary positions. There is, then, a cadre nomenclature of the Central Committee. There is a cadre nomenclature for the district leaderships of the SED, for the county leaderships and for the basic units. Also to be mentioned in this connection is that the nomenclature of the Central Committee included a number of West German KPD functionaries; there were also nomenclatures of the KPD Party Directorate, of the state organizations of the KPD, and of the county organizations of the KPD.

The nomenclature of the Central Committee includes

all members of the Central Committee;
all co-workers of the Central Committee;
the members of the district leaderships;
all co-workers of the district leaderships,
down to and including department chief;
the members of the government of the German
Democratic Republic;
the state secretaries with independent or
integrated portfolios;
the central secretariats of all mass organizations;
the organizers of the Central Committee of the SED;
a significant number of leading scientists, deans
and university professors;
the heads and the leading co-workers of a number
of central administrations (State Committee
for Sports and Physical Culture, State
Institute for Popular Art, the Authors'
Association);
a number of leading engineers and technicians
of the largest enterprises;
all county secretaries of the SED;
the plant chiefs of the largest people's-owned
factories;

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all generals, staff officers and commanders of the armed forces and of the People's Police;
the leading forces in the cultural area such as directors of the theatres of the Zone, authors, sculptors, etc., insofar as they are members of the SED;
the school heads and the teachers at all Party schools from the central Party school down;
all political leaders of the motor-tractor stations as well as the heads of the largest agricultural production communes;
a significant number of mayors, at least those of all large cities (Leipzig, Magdeburg, Halle, Weimar, Erfurt, etc.);
all directors and producers of the state radio;
all editors-in-chief of the official and unofficial SED publications;
all important Party jurists, physicians and other scientists;
all ambassadors and the most important co-workers in the foreign service;
the leading members of the political departments of the German railways, of the postal and telephone systems, insofar as they are not already included among the various members of the government;
the heads of all educational institutes, such as the Institute for Contemporary History, the Institute for Publicistics, etc.;
all heads of museums, scientific and meteorological institutes, etc.

Thus there are concentrated in the Central Cadre Registry of the SED all the leading forces of the Zone in the political, cultural, economic and general social fields.

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In summary, it can be said that there is no significant organization or association, no institute and no administration in the Zone whose leading personalities -- so far as they are members of the SED -- are not incorporated in the Central Cadre Registry. In addition, there is a cadre nomenclature which is accessible only to the First Secretary of the Central Committee for all of those leading functionaries in the above-mentioned fields who are not members of the SED but are either non-Party people or belong to the so-called "bourgeois" parties of the Zone. In addition, it should be mentioned also that as a matter of course all recipients of the National Prize, all Heroes of Labor, all decorated educators and Physicians of the People, insofar as they do not fall under the categories already mentioned, in brief, all who have been decorated with significant prizes or laurels, are also incorporated in the Central Cadre nomenclature.

The Development Card File of the Cadre Sector of the Central Committee Departments

In the Central Cadre Registry there are deposited all personnel files on the various groups of persons and functionaries listed. In addition, the cadre sectors of the individual departments have card files and lists of all those functionaries in this nomenclature who fall in their jurisdictional area. Their mission consists in exercising a constant check over whether the positions in their jurisdictional area are filled, whether the persons who hold these positions are fulfilling their duties, and whether there is sufficient development of new, young functionaries in accordance with the perspective plans. In order to accomplish this latter, there are special files which are called development card files; they have

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as their ultimate purpose the development of several young replacements for every position in the area concerned. The raising of professional qualification and the development of these replacements is supposed to be checked on and perfected constantly. With these development card files, as the name itself indicates, the intention is to maintain and to supplement continuously the political and professional development of every functionary falling under the nomenclature of the Central Committee. All of the schools and courses attended by the functionary are listed, together with his entire occupational and political education, all functions he has held, as well as "perspective proposals", i.e. proposals for further development and qualification of the individual functionary. If a functionary is needed for a function and so-called "natural growth" is not possible ("natural growth" means that when positions are changed, the immediate subordinate moves up, after screening) then the responsible functionary for the cadre sector picks out of the development card file of his department those persons who appear to be best suited for the vacant function on the basis of the data included in the file. He has personal interviews with them, looks into their work performance so far, checks thoroughly the available personnel files and in this way picks out the prospect.

The Cadre Draft Resolution

On the basis of the files, then, the functionary prepares a draft resolution. This draft contains in its first part a resume of all essential personal data, such as name, age, origin, occupation and occupational training, family status, family origin, occupational and political schooling, membership in political organizations and parties, stays abroad, imprisonment such as prisoner-

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of-war, etc. In the second part of the draft there is a characterization of the functionary, primarily on the basis of his previous activity, and the third part of the draft contains the proposal for assignment which is to be resolved on the basis of the draft. This draft, then, is transmitted to the Central Cadre Registry, which for its part again checks through everything thoroughly and then transmits the draft to the responsible leadership body, i.e. either to the Secretariat or to the Politburo. If the Cadre Registry does not concur with the proposal of a department, then the draft is not sent to the Politburo or the Secretariat of the Central Committee, since in the final analysis the Cadre Registry bears full responsibility vis-a-vis the Politburo and the Secretariat for any draft submitted. However, if a cadre draft has proceeded this far, it is then submitted to the members of the Secretariat or to the Politburo for discussion at the next session. The head of the Politburo or of the Secretariat, in each case the First Secretary of the Central Committee, receives in addition to the draft the entire personnel file of the functionary concerned, so that he can personally inform himself on all of the details contained in the personnel file which have served as a basis for the summarized data in the draft. The decision as to whether the draft goes to the Politburo or to the Secretariat is based on the function for which the individual is proposed. Here also there is a sub-breakdown in the nomenclature. The heads of the district organizations of the Party, the heads of the mass organizations, all ministers, state secretaries, the department chiefs and the Secretaries of the Central Committee, all generals -- in brief, all those who are at the head of an organization, administration or an institute -- fall under the nomenclature of the Politburo, and their assignment or further use is resolved and determined by the Politburo. The remaining cadres of

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the nomenclature of the Central Committee fall under the Secretariat for resolution.

The Relation of the Central Committee to the District Leaderships

In dealing with the principles of the nomenclature of the Central Committee it must be mentioned that in this field there are conflicts of jurisdiction and interest between the Central Committee and the district organizations. These result fundamentally from the principle that all cadres in a district fall under the nomenclature of the appropriate district leadership of the SED. Those people in the nomenclature of the Central Committee who are located outside of Berlin are only registered in the Central Committee, and have their assignments resolved and their activities checked on there. Within the framework of their activities, however, they are subject to the guidance of the appropriate district leaderships since, from a purely organizational point of view, it is impossible to guide such a large body of functionaries from the Central Committee. Due to this situation there are many conflicts of jurisdiction, many frictions and misunderstandings, since it happens very frequently that functionaries are removed from the districts on the basis of the nomenclature of the Central Committee, although the district leaderships had completely different plans for the functionaries concerned and frequently also an entirely different evaluation of them, having worked with them daily, while in the Central Committee they were represented by nothing other than an inanimate file cover.

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Screenings of the Cadres and Purges

The Central Cadre Registry has not only a register function; it has a special sector which concerns itself with all questions which are "unclear" concerning the individual functionaries who fall under the nomenclature of the Central Committee. Such so-called "unclear questions" include among others the activities of the individual cadres during the Hitler period, while in exile, and inconsistencies developed out of comparisons of the information given in various questionnaires, etc. This sector of the Cadre Registry works most closely with the State Security organs, has a direct tie to the Central Party Control Commission, and reviews all cadre drafts before they are presented to the Secretariat or to the Politburo for resolution.

Cadre Policy Directives

Another important element in personnel policy work is the fundamental resolutions of the Politburo on cadre policy guidelines. The cadre policy directives of the Central Committee of the SED change according to measures taken by the Soviet Party. For example, in 1948 after the Cominform resolution against Tito and the Yugoslav Party certain cadre policy directives were promulgated by the Politburo which had as their result a thorough screening of all Party functionaries. All functionaries belonging to the nomenclature of the Central Committee who had ever been in Yugoslavia, who during the Third Reich had been in Western exile, or even had fought against the Third Reich on the Western side, were sorted out and in most cases removed from influential functions. After the trials of Rajk, Kostov and others in the so-called People's Democracies, there were added to

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those factors already listed still others, for example, the question of Western PW detention, relationship with the "so-called American democrats" and others. Thus, after the above-mentioned trials there was a resolution of the Politburo of the SED that all functionaries who had been American, British or French prisoners-of-war for longer than one-half year were to be removed from their leading functions. Even the rehabilitation of a few leading SED functionaries does not change the fundamental cadre principles of the Central Committee. These people were not returned to their old functions, nor were others rehabilitated who fell into disgrace during the years 1949 to 1952. It is true that some functionaries who had been disciplined on the basis of having been Western prisoners-of-war were returned to relatively high functions, and thus the principle of the removal of all functionaries who had been Western PW's for more than half a year was relaxed. It was not lifted completely, however, and all of these functionaries are still in functions which are far subordinate to those they formerly held. They continue to be excluded from functions in the administration of justice, in the police and in the army, as well as leading Party organs.

In principle, the cadre policy directives of the Central Committee provide for the exact political, social and even sex composition of all leadership bodies of the SED, the leading mass organizations, the government organs, the administrations and all other institutions. In them it is precisely determined that the majority of the members of such leadership bodies are to be of working class origin, also what age groups the individual members are to represent, how many men and women are to be in the individual leadership bodies, how many old Party members and how many younger elements should belong

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to the leadership, and how high the proportion of intellectuals in the leadership bodies can be. The basic principle is that the majority of members of the leadership must come from the working class. The second largest proportion should be former small farmers and agricultural workers. Bourgeois elements are tolerated in the leaderships only out of necessity and so far as possible should not contribute more than one to two per cent. It is much the same with intellectuals, scientists, and the culturally creative elements. This picture would be incomplete if we failed to point out that this basic formula is naturally applied flexibly; it is clear that, for example, in the leadership of a university-level organ of the Party or of a scientific institute, the proportion of intellectuals must naturally be considerably greater than, for example, the proportion of these social groups in the leadership of an industrial enterprise. Nevertheless, even in the case of such university groups, an attempt is made to see to it that the majority of the members of the leadership is made up of former workers and sons of farmers who only in the past decade have decided on an academic career. Although outwardly the principle of performance is placed in the foreground, it is natural that under such principles (for the most part applied dogmatically) the origin rather than the performance is the decisive factor in most cases, so that members of bourgeois social strata have little chance of any real development. So far as the sexes are concerned, an attempt is made to have half of the positions in the leadership bodies occupied by female functionaries in order to document the equal rights of women. Since, however, the political development of women in the SED and its affiliated organs is strongly retarded, the situation is often such that professionally and politically incompetent female functionaries are appointed to the

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leadership bodies simply in order to fulfill formally the provisions of the directives. So far as age group composition is concerned, an attempt is made to have at least ten to twenty per cent of the functions occupied by young functionaries, so that the replacement problem is taken into account. They pay particular attention to the number of former Communists in the leadership bodies. In every case, they avoid giving former members of the Social Democratic Party predominance in the composition of the leadership bodies, even though this is not explicitly stated in the cadre directives. In practice, nevertheless, the principle is that in no leadership body should more than one or two former Social Democrats be represented. Former Western emigrants, functionaries who spent longer periods as Western PW's, were in the course of 1953 eliminated almost completely from the leadership bodies of the SED and the mass organizations. In the years 1954 and 1955, to be sure, they began for tactical reasons and also because of an acute lack of functionaries to relax this regulation somewhat. Another fundamental element in the cadre policy directives requires that so-called activists, innovators, Heroes of Labor must be included in all Party leadership bodies. In this way an attempt is made to set an example for the workers. Although outwardly as early as 1950 an end was put to all defamations of former members and functionaries of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party, its affiliated organizations and the various parts of the armed forces of the Third (Hitler) Reich, nevertheless the barring of all of these circles from the leadership bodies of the SED and its mass organizations continues to be basic in cadre directives. An exception is made of all members of the above-mentioned groups who, while prisoners-of-war in the Soviet Union, attended

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successfully a half-year course in an Antifa school. These people, without consideration for their positions during the Third Reich, which in many cases were very high, are assigned to very important posts in the state apparatus and especially in the armed forces. Nevertheless, they are not trusted completely. Thus it is an unwritten law that alongside such functionaries there must be always enough old Communists to look after and watch over these re-educated elements. The cadre directives provide for a particularly strict selection for the immediate Party apparatus, the State Security Service, the leading cadres of the armed forces, the justice apparatus and the Free German Youth. For the last, which is considered the immediate reserve of the SED, the cadre policies were sharpened considerably in 1953.

In these so-called "institutions" it is more or less the aim to eliminate completely all former bourgeois elements and members of the former Social Democratic Party, as well as members of the former National Socialist Party and its affiliated organizations, and to close the ranks of these organizations completely to any new members out of these groups. Also, former Western emigres and Western PW's no longer have access to these organizations, unless they spent only a short time in the PW collection cages. The cadre principles also provide especially strict measures for former Communists who have in their background so-called "cadre-policy unclear questions", particularly from the years 1933 to 1945. Former members of the KPD who, for example, under the force of circumstances made statements either for the Gestapo or in the course of trials, or who tried through petitions of pardon and other measures to put themselves at a distance from their former political

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activities, are dealt with much more severely than former members of the National Socialist Party. Almost without exception they are barred from membership in the leading organs of the SED. Similarly, members of certain opposition groups of the KPD during the Weimar Republic (1919 to 1933) are restricted, among them members of the so-called KPO¹, and the Lenin League², to say nothing of Trotskyites, Bandlerites³, etc. While shortly after 1945 some of them were taken in to make their political contributions, from 1951 on they have been eliminated more and more from the leadership bodies, so that today it is impossible for them to work in almost any leadership. Such a past for a Communist is occasion for more distrust than is demonstrated toward a former member of the National Socialist Party.

In spite of the already-mentioned rehabilitations, the opposition Communist groups continue to be barred from all forms of political work. So far, neither in the Soviet Union nor in East Germany have former Trotskyites,

1. KPO - Kommunistische Partei-Opposition - Communist Party-Opposition, a splinter group which broke off in the latter 1920's. One of the prominent leaders of this splinter was Heinrich Brandler, formerly leader of the KPD itself. Brandler now lives in Western Germany and is active in trade union affairs rather than politics.

2. The Lenin League was one of the earliest German "back to Lenin" movements. It was one of many splinters which broke off before the seizure of power by Hitler.

3. See footnote 1, above.

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supporters of Brandlerism, or any other of the oppositional currents been rehabilitated. The rehabilitations which have been undertaken do not extend even to the members of the more recent opposition groups, whose representatives were, among others, Wilhelm Zaisser and Rudolf Herrnstadt. Even in the rehabilitation of Dahlem and others, what we have is genuine Stalinists who came into conflict with the Ulbricht group only out of tactical considerations, but never belonged to political groups with any fundamental ideological principles.

In addition to these political factors, there are naturally a number of other fundamentals of the cadre policy of the SED, a listing of which here would lead much too far. Particularly noteworthy is a principle of unconditional faith in and unreserved love for the Soviet Union and its leading functionaries. This relationship to the USSR, which must be completely uncritical and unconditional, is one of the decisive testing stones in the assignment of a functionary. It has happened not infrequently that extremely capable functionaries who in every respect were faultless in their personal questionnaires and files according to Communist principles, who had shown outstanding performance at Communist Party schools in the Soviet Union, were nevertheless not given assignments and were even disciplined because, for purely private reasons (for example, the wife was having a child), they had either turned down participation in a trip to the Soviet Union or had requested that they be included in the next delegation.

In addition to these set principles, the cadre directives of the SED provide for an extensive political, character, moral and professional evaluation prior to further assignment of the functionaries. Points to be

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considered in this are, among others, loyalty to the resolutions of the Party, the relationship of the individual to the collective, unconditional recognition of the subordination of the minority to the majority, systematic and successful Marxist study by the individual, his attitude to the question of criticism and self-criticism, contact with the masses, enthusiasm for the work, agitational, propagandistic, organizational and cultural capabilities, professional potential and qualification, and the whole scope of his moral conduct, including private and family relationships.

According to the principles set forth here, the functionaries of the individual leadership bodies and apparatuses are selected, screened by the corresponding cadre sectors and cadre registries, and their assignments resolved by the secretariats of the appropriate leaderships. After this has been done, the functionaries thus selected are then and only then "nominated" to the various delegates' conferences or Party congresses to be voted on as candidates for their functions. It is impossible to make nominations for election as a member of a leadership body in any other way. From this it is clear that all of the democratic methods in the election of leaderships are purely formalistic, since in reality the decision on the composition of the leadership has already been made some time before within the framework of a small group.

The Role of the Central Party Control Commission

An important task in the cadre policy of the SED is played by the Central Party Control Commission and its subordinate organs. In the statute of the SED adopted at the 4th Party Congress, the tasks of the Central Party

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Control Commission are sketched as follows: "It protects the unity and purity of the Party and contributes to the unmasking and annihilation of enemy agencies in the Party, fights against all fractional activity and removes traitors from the ranks of the Party. It controls the maintenance of Party discipline by the members and candidates of the Party, calls to account those who are guilty of violations of the resolutions or the statutes of the Party, of Party and state discipline, or of Party morals (deception of the Party, dishonesty and untruthfulness toward the Party, slander, bureaucratism, lack of moderation in daily life, etc.)... It checks on the activities of the district and county Party Control Commissions." (Statutes of the SED, as published in Neues Deutschland, No. 84, 9 April 1954.)

On the basis of these very clear responsibilities, the Central Party Control Commission and subordinate organs have extraordinary powers. The members of this Commission decide on the membership or non-membership of a number of people, particularly because they can not only expel from the Party a functionary who has come into conflict with the Party regulations, but because such a resolution of expulsion in every case has economic repercussions and in some circumstances can even endanger the life and the liberty of the individual. An engineer in a factory who has, as a member of the SED, violated Party resolutions, is not only expelled from the SED but automatically also loses his position and has the chance only to work as a common laborer, if he is not put for years behind prison walls. There is a very close cooperation between the Central Party Control Commission and its subordinate agencies on the one hand, and the organs of State Security and even the Soviet agencies on the other. No important investigation by the

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Central Party Control Commission is conducted independently of these other institutions. All results of investigations and decisions are communicated to these organs which then, for their part, initiate measures which deprive the individuals of their freedom or even, in some cases, of their lives. Further still, the Central Party Control Commission and its subordinate organs make use of State Security in the conduct of their investigations. Routine surveillances and informant work, the collection of information, etc., are often conducted not directly by the Central Party Control Commission or the district control commissions, but by the appropriate organs of State Security, which have at their disposal a much more extensive investigative apparatus. In addition, there is constant contact between the Party control commissions and the appropriate cadre registries. The control commissions have the right to see at any time the personnel files which are incorporated in the registries and conversely, the decisions of the control commissions are incorporated in the personnel files so that they accompany a functionary to the end of his days.

After they have concluded their investigations, the control commissions work primarily on the basis of questioning and interrogation, in the course of which they prepare formal interrogation statements. The control commission does not call in a functionary against whom an accusation has been made in order to discuss openly with him all questions involved; on the contrary, after an accusation is made, extensive investigations are conducted. The functionary concerned is thoroughly surveilled for a long time, and only after considerable material against him has been gathered does the control commission summon him and communicate to him the results of the investigations.

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The functionary concerned neither has the possibility of preparing himself thoroughly in his own defense, nor can he have at his disposal any sort of assistance in obtaining rehabilitation.

The powers of the Party control commissions are by no means limited to the Party apparatus of the SED. They not only have the right to check on all Party members who work in other institutions such as the mass organizations or the state apparatus, nor are they concerned only with the misdemeanors and violations of individual functionaries. Rather, the control commissions' work encompasses the activities of the whole of public life in the East Zone, including the bourgeois parties. For example, when unsatisfactory conditions occur in the Ministry for Food Supply, which result in inadequate supply of food for the population, then the Central Party Control Commission is authorized to investigate all leading functionaries of this Ministry and to suggest or propose appropriate measures. In order not to discredit still further the so-called independence of the bourgeois parties to the outside, the Central Party Control Commission makes use of the state control organs when it is concerned with members of the bourgeois parties. These state control organs are run at the head by SED functionaries who are subject to orders from the Central Party Control Commission, if they do not want to fall into the mill of the Central Party Control Commission themselves. Thus the Central Party Control Commission and its subordinate organs occupy a key position in the surveillance and observation of all co-workers in all spheres of public life in the Zone.

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Cadre Policy at Boarding Schools and Academies

It does not fall within the framework of this study to examine all the working methods in the boarding schools, academies and universities. Even though these institutions in official Communist terminology are the so-called "cadre forges", we can concern ourselves here only with the selection, screening and assignment of the students, as well as the control over them during their activity after they have completed the school.

The selection and screening of the students for the individual schools (county Party schools, district Party schools, central Party school, etc.) differ according to the level of the school concerned. The selection of the students for county Party schools, for example, is carried out by the leaderships of the basic units. The screening of those selected is undertaken by commissions of the county headquarters. For students for the district Party schools, quotas are distributed among the counties, who in turn break down these quotas for their basic units. The basic units then, in conjunction with the county leaderships, propose candidates for the district Party schools, who are given a preliminary check by the county leaderships. The actual screening for acceptance is undertaken by a screening commission from the district leadership. For the central Party school and for special courses, which are under the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, the selection is accomplished in the following way: the Central Committee informs all district leaderships and the central leaderships of the mass organizations, ministries, etc., of the number of students which each of these organs is expected to send. The district leaderships, ministries, etc., after consultation with their subordinate echelons,

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select certain candidates whose names are then communicated to the Central Committee together with the appropriate cadre documentation. After these proposals have been reviewed in the Central Committee, those candidates who have survived the paper review are summoned to the Central Committee for a personal screening. Then they are subjected to a thorough theoretical testing by commissions of the Central Committee which are supposed to determine whether they have the proper level of theoretical knowledge for the school. An essential point in this again is their cadre-policy background, since the composition of the individual courses is also very precisely prescribed. Another measure for the screening of the candidates is the determination of their probable aptitude after schooling, through a screening of their professional perspective, their professional qualification, their general intelligence and past development. These tests are supposed to determine what function the individual student could take over when he has passed the course with average success. As a basis for this, they use the cadre development plan which the individual screening commission members have. These commissions are composed of members from the Propaganda Department, the Central Cadre Registry, the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations, and a number of cadre sector heads from the most important departments. The cadre perspective plan for these investigations is made up of the requirements which have been levied by the Central Committee, the ministries and the mass organizations, insofar as these fall under the nomenclature of the Central Committee. If the candidates who appear before the commission measure up to the desired requirements, on the basis of ideological knowledge, cadre-policy background and other aspects of the perspective plans, then they are confirmed

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by the commission as candidates for attendance at the central Party school. This, however, does not make them students of the Party school. Only after the list of the candidates thus screened, with appropriate documentation, has been presented to the Secretariat of the Central Committee and a resolution passed thereon, only then are they finally accepted as students for the next one or two-year course at the central Party school. Similarly the selection is made for the most important political academies in the Zone, such as the Walter Ulbricht Administrative Academy, with the difference that in these cases an essential part of the preliminary work is carried out by the corresponding ministries. The individual candidates must bring with them for the screenings by the commissions appropriate medical and health certificates, characterizations from their Party basic organizations, etc.

When the students arrive at the school, the course still does not begin. At the school, within the framework of the seminars, they are screened once more ideologically and from a cadre-policy point of view. Here they use preferably a so-called collective screening, i.e. within the framework of the individual seminars all the students who are present recite in great detail their life histories. This is followed by a cross-examination by all of the other students in the seminar and by the teachers who are present. This cross-examination becomes sometimes quite hot and heavy, since many of the students try to prove in advance their loyalty to the line by very active and critical participation. It has happened not infrequently that on the basis of this collective screening circumstances are brought to light which have slipped through all previous investigations, and some students have been sent back home.

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During the course the individual seminar leaders, leaders of the faculty groups, etc., keep so-called cadre books. In these cadre books all details of the conduct and attitude of the individual students during the course are noted precisely and meticulously. They concern themselves not only with the students' activities and attitudes during the lectures, seminars, consultations, i.e. during the course of the official curriculum, but also their conduct and attitudes during their free time, during meals, etc. During the one and two-year courses there are regular teachers' meetings, in which from time to time representatives of the Central Committee also participate. At these teachers' meetings the individual evaluations and characterizations of the students are discussed and interim evaluations are prepared. In addition, the Party organization of the students, which is broken down into class groups, sees to it that those students who are not completely true to the line are called to account regularly. The school Party organizations of the students prepare similar interim evaluations.

At the end of the course, final evaluations are prepared for each student by the faculty collective and by the basic organization of the Party at the school. With the assistance of the cadre books and the interim evaluations, a written picture is prepared of the ideological, professional and cultural performance, as well as the moral conduct and character of each individual student. After these evaluations have been completed, cadre commissions of the Central Committee reappear at the central Party school. This time they have the task of making a tentative determination of the assignment for each student. For this purpose, they study the evaluations and have individual interviews with the various students.

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As a basis for these interviews they use the personnel files of the students, the evaluations from the school, and the cadre plan of the Central Committee from which they can see what functions in the Party, state apparatus and mass organizations urgently need filling. After discussions with the individual students, in the course of which the members of the commission make appropriate notes, the assignment proposals for the students are worked out. This list, together with the documents, is presented to the Secretariat of the Central Committee for resolution. After the resolution by the Secretariat, the students report to their new place of work. Frequently this causes differences with the district leaderships, the mass organizations and the ministries, since the Central Committee often passes a resolution arbitrarily, on the basis of requirements which it has, concerning the assignments of students who before the beginning of the course were sent by the ministries, district leaderships and mass organizations with the expectation that these students would return after completion of their study to their old working areas. These differences led in 1953 to serious conflicts. The result was that a resolution was passed to the effect that, as a rule, those students who were sent by various institutions would return to them after the completion of the course. Nevertheless, it was not to be avoided that there were border cases, conflicts and arbitrary decisions.

All students who have successfully completed the central Party school automatically fall under the nomenclature of the Central Committee, even if they are assigned in functions which, on the basis of the existing nomenclatures, do not fall in the area of the Central Committee. Thus, the Central Committee has constant

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control over all students from the central Party school. The mass organizations handle the problem similarly with their central schools. The district leaderships and county leaderships are required to report all personnel changes involving former central Party school students to the Central Committee, which in turn reserves for itself a final decision, even though the individual students are not nomenclature functionaries of the Central Committee. Former students of the central Party school also have the right to turn in any question at any time to the Central Cadre Registry of the Central Committee. From time to time the Central Cadre Registry conducts spot checks on the assignments of former central Party school students and their development. Formerly there were fairly frequent meetings of alumni of the individual courses at the central Party school itself, to encourage an exchange of experiences and thoughts among the former students. However, this method was severely criticized in 1953 because the idea arose that it led to too strong personal ties among the students.

The Role of the Personal Questionnaire and of the Personnel Files

An important role in the life of every SED functionary is played by the personal questionnaire and the personnel file on him which is maintained in the appropriate cadre registry. There is no SED functionary active since 1945 who has not filled out at least thirty different and constantly expanded questionnaires. The questionnaires of the SED include in addition to the usual data such as name, address, age, place of birth, etc., detailed information on the social origin of the functionary, the property and ownership relationships of his parents, the political

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past of his parents and of himself before 1933, after 1933 and after 1945, his conduct during the Third Reich, with appropriate annotations, his exact political development after 1945, including indication of all functions, organizations and associations. In addition, the questionnaires contain precise questions to bring out any possible deviations on the part of the individual functionary during his Party membership up until 1933 /KPO (Communist Party - Opposition), etc./, questions concerning his PW imprisonment, the period of exile, his political schooling, and many other aspects. In addition, a detailed political life-history statement must be appended to each questionnaire.

These questionnaires must be filled out anew on every change of function, independently of questionnaires already available, so that the number of them is increased in the course of the years. Beyond that, from time to time (for example, during the Party screening of 1951) new personal questionnaires are required from all functionaries on the basis of a general resolution. All these questionnaires are collected in the personnel files of the functionary concerned and maintained in the appropriate cadre registry and worked on by the cadre officials of the leadership to whose nomenclature the functionary concerned belongs at the time. Up until 1953, whenever a functionary changed positions and came under the nomenclature of another Party leadership, the new cadre registry compiled a new personnel file. As a result of this, many functionaries, especially those in central functions, had a number of different personnel files (for example, a functionary who in 1946 worked in a county Party unit and then was transferred in 1950 to the Central Committee would probably have a personnel file with the appropriate county unit, another one with the

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appropriate State organization and still a third with the Central Committee). In order so far as possible to prevent unauthorized persons from having access to the various personnel files and to determine discrepancies by comparing the questionnaires filled out at various times, the Secretariat of the Central Committee resolved in 1953 that henceforth there was to be only one personnel file for each functionary, and that this file was to be maintained in the cadre registry to whose nomenclature the functionary at the time belonged. If the functionary changed his function and moved into the jurisdiction of another nomenclature, then his personnel file would move with him. As a result, all personnel files belonging to functionaries who were under the nomenclature of the Central Committee were called in from the various other Party leaderships and headquarters where they might have been maintained. These were all combined into one personnel file in the Central Cadre Registry, the various documents were compared and, if discrepancies were noted, the functionary concerned was called to account. In spite of this, however, the resolution itself was only theoretical and in actual fact there exist even today, in addition to this main personnel file for the individual functionary, several "illegal" personnel folders at other places. For all functionaries, for example, who are under the nomenclature of the Central Committee but who belong to a mass organization, to the government, etc., there are in addition to their personnel files with the Central Cadre Registry, other personnel files with the personnel departments of the other organizations. Furthermore, such co-workers of the mass organizations, government, etc., are also under the jurisdiction of the individual cadre sectors of the various functional departments of the Central Committee, which are responsible for the development and control of these functionaries.

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Those responsible for cadre in the functional departments would not be able to fulfill their function unless they maintained appropriate documentation on the individual functionaries, kept constantly up to date, in addition to their so-called development card files. They cannot dispense with these "illegal" personnel folders because the system of the SED is such that these cadre personnel repeatedly receive questions on the individual functionaries and can be very severely reprimanded if they are not in a position to answer these questions. And so there is a third personnel file for the individual functionaries in the form of the illegal folders maintained by the responsibles for the cadre sectors, often very meticulously and completely kept because these cadre instructors deal with a relatively small group of functionaries and thus are able to work rather intensively on their files. As a rule, there is even a fourth personnel file on the functionary concerned in the hands of the leaders or the deputies in the individual ministries, in the mass organizations, etc. This file consists essentially of notes made by the leaders on the various functionaries. These notes are often very interesting because they refer to internal affairs which otherwise would scarcely become known. These files come into action for the most part only when there is a question of removing or disciplining the functionary concerned. In such cases, the Party often falls back on things which come out of such informal files and which in many cases may lie a considerable time in the past.

The personnel file in the Central Cadre Register contains, in addition to the already mentioned questionnaires and life-history statements, all important documents concerning the functionary. In the form of memoranda for the record there are detailed accounts of when and under what circumstances the functionary has come into contact

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with any official Party offices. Final reports from political schools, important official medical examination reports, all Party penalties, all Party investigations, evaluations and characterizations as a result of political activities or assignments; all such documents are collected in the personnel file.

If a functionary is investigated in any detail as a result of a general resolution or as a result of any suspicion which he himself might have aroused, or if any discrepancies are noted in the information he gives about himself, then he is required to prepare a supplementary written report on the question concerned which then is attached to the transcript of his interrogation and incorporated in his personnel file. On the basis of all of these documents, the appropriate department prepares a proposal for the way in which the case under consideration should be handled.

The files are physically kept in the Central Cadre Registry. There is a fundamental resolution to the effect that no one can have access to or disposal over these files except for the appropriate cadre functionaries and the leading members of the department. Members of the Politburo, secretaries and department chiefs may view the records if they give the Cadre Registry a written request and sign a receipt for the appropriate file. If they do not return the file after a short time, the receipt serves as a basis for a reminder that the file is to be returned. Insofar as they are concerned with such activity, co-workers of the State Security organs may view the personnel files in the same way, but since 1953 they must have in addition the permission of the department head of the Central Cadre Registry. There are excerpted copies of the most important documents from all the personnel

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files of those functionaries who are under the nomenclature of the Central Committee, these excerpted copies being in the hands of the political department of the Soviet Control Commission.

In addition to these personnel files, there is also for every SED member a so-called basic book. This basic book consists also of a detailed Party questionnaire, a detailed life-history statement, and the most important information about the Party member; it looks almost like a Nazi family record book. This basic book is kept by the appropriate county headquarters to which is subordinated the basic unit in which the individual is a member. It contains comments by the screening commission, all Party penalties, etc. The basic book was introduced in connection with the Party screening operation in 1951.

The personnel file which is in the Central Cadre Registry and also the basic file contain photographs of the functionary concerned. The personnel files in the Central Cadre Registry are filed alphabetically on the basis of a categorical index system which makes the location of the individual files simpler. The functional categories are indicated by colored index tabs.

Special Cadre-Policy Tasks

In addition to the usual procedure of assigning functionaries by the appropriate cadre sectors after coordinating with the Central Cadre Registry and confirming by resolution by the Secretariat or the Politburo as already described, there are a number of special cadre-policy tasks which are carried out as needed by various departments of the Central Committee.

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An essential part of these special tasks is handled by the Department for the Protection of Property of the People (Department M)¹. This department is responsible for the main administrations of the People's Police, the Garrisoned People's Police with its affiliated organizations, the State Security organs, and various departments of the Ministry of Interior (for example, the former Institute for Research in Economic Science²). In the latter two cases, however, the department has primarily a coordinating function, and direct political leadership is exercised immediately by the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Ulbricht. Department M, in addition to its military-political responsibilities, also carries out a number of special cadre-policy tasks. The head of the

1. The euphemistically named Department for the Protection of the Property of the People is also called Department M (Military-Political) and Department S (Security). It is both little known and little talked about; its present designation is Department "S".

2. The Institute for Research in Economic Science (Institut fuer Wirtschaftswissenschaftliche Forschung - IWF) was an economic research office which was a cover for espionage against Western Germany. A wide-spread West German security operation against it, which was embarrassing because it was improperly prepared and most of the suspects had to be released for lack of solid evidence, was given extensive western press play under the name "Operation Vulkan". It appears to have been a joint German-Soviet undertaking; at least, the Soviet services played a part in its operations.

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department is Gustav Röbeln¹, who in most cases handles these special cadre-policy tasks himself. If the Soviet counterintelligence or security agencies need new agents for the Zone or especially in the Western area of Germany, or if it is a question of assigning special functionaries for an investigation of the military cadres, together with State Security, or if it is a question, for example, of selecting a number of new people out of the ranks of the FDJ in West Germany who are needed for espionage assignments or who are to receive special assignments, or any special tasks along these lines, the assignments are given to Gustav Röbeln and he carries them out, without any written resolution, but for the most part on the basis of oral instructions received directly from Ulbricht.

In such a case, Röbeln gets in contact with the special liaison functionaries of the individual organizations or agencies in whose jurisdictions he thinks he can find the needed functionaries or personnel. Once the candidates have been selected by the organizations that have been approached, they are then screened by Röbeln himself and assigned in direct coordination with the appropriate organizations, without a resolution having been formulated officially, either in the Secretariat or in the Politburo. In most cases, when the functionaries selected are important ones, these things are discussed personally with First Secretary Ulbricht. Similar tasks, although not to the extent that is the case with Department M, are also carried out by other departments.

1. Gustav Röbeln now holds a special post in the East German armed forces; this department is now the responsibility of Erich Honecker, former head of the FDJ, recent graduate of a longer course at the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPSU, now Walter Ulbricht's hatchet-man in the SED who was elected to the SED Secretariat in the wake of the February 1958 purge of the leadership.

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VII. THE TECHNICAL PROCEDURES AND ORGANIZATION
OF THE WORK IN THE APPARATUS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SED

The practical working methods and their application have already been dealt with in Section IV. It is necessary, however, to examine the technical procedures and organization of the work in the apparatus of the Central Committee. Even though our examination will be concerned primarily with the technical process of office business, nevertheless the integration of forces shows very clearly the attempt to provide as complete as possible a control over the resolutions and the highest possible working discipline, even on an administrative basis.

How a Resolution Draft Originates

As a rule, resolution drafts originate in the following way: on the basis of the already existing quarterly work plan of the Secretariat or of the Politburo of the Central Committee, a department works out a draft dealing with a specific problem. The department chief of this department assigns to one of the co-workers the working out of such a draft. After the co-worker has produced his draft, he turns it over to the department chief, who corrects and revises it as he sees fit and then submits it to the responsible Secretary. Frequently the Secretary also undertakes some revisions and corrections in the draft. Once these have been made, the Secretary submits the draft, depending on its importance, either to the Bureau of the Secretariat or to the Bureau of the Politburo. The appropriate Bureau then collects all of the drafts which are submitted and places their titles on a provisional agenda for the next session of the appropriate leadership body, the Politburo or the Secretariat.

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In order to be placed on the agenda, the drafts must be presented to the Bureau concerned at least three days before the beginning of the session. This provisional agenda is then presented to the First Secretary of the Central Committee, with the appropriate resolution drafts, at least two days before the session. The First Secretary revises, expands or changes the agenda according to what he deems the priorities to be. After the First Secretary has revised and confirmed the agenda, all of the drafts which remain on the agenda are reproduced in about twenty copies and dispatched to the individual members of the leadership body at least one or two days before the session concerned, so that they can study them. The remaining copies are kept in the Bureau concerned for the files, and one copy of each is transmitted to the Soviets. The individual members of the Secretariat or of the Politburo note their comments on the drafts after they have worked them through. When the draft is dealt with in the course of the agenda at the session, which in most cases involves calling in the appropriate department chief whose department has prepared the draft, then the procedure is as follows: first of all, the department chief, or the secretary or the Politburo member who is responsible for the department, gives a justification in a five or ten-minute statement, together with all of the essential problems concerning the draft. This is followed by a discussion by all of the members of the leadership body on all points on which there are questions. The First Secretary then gives a resume of all of the opinions which have been accepted and formulates the final resolution concerning the draft for the record. The drafts, with corresponding numbers and references, are noted in the protocol. As a rule, the formulation is as follows: "Draft No. -, concerning --, has been resolved with the following revisions...." Then there is a listing of the

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changes, and in conclusion a notation as to which functionary or which department is made responsible for the accomplishment of this resolution by what time, or when the responsible person or department is to submit an interim report.

Resolution drafts are prepared, however, not only on the basis of the quarterly work plan of the Politburo, the Secretariat, or the departments. Often a number of questions come up which are not provided for in these plans. In such cases, the First Secretary, or a member of the Politburo or of the Secretariat, charges the appropriate department with the production of a draft on these questions of the moment. It also happens that the departments themselves come across certain conditions which make it seem advisable to them to prepare a resolution draft. In such cases they sketch briefly their point of view, submit this to the responsible Secretary or Politburo member, and then produce the draft if the idea has found the concurrence of the leading functionary. The channels followed by such drafts are the same as have already been described.

Normal, brief resolution drafts are organized as a rule as follows: after a brief statement of the content of the draft, the date, the category and number of the draft, and its designation as a draft, there follows in the introduction a listing of the individual resolutions to be taken: "The Politburo or Secretariat resolves: 1)...2)...3)...!" The second part of the draft then gives a short resume of the justification for the draft. In fundamental or decisive resolutions, which are the result of very extensive investigations, the organization is usually reversed. At the beginning there is an exhaustive analysis which characterizes the present situation in the matter concerned, and then the appropriate conclusions are drawn, after which in the third

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part there are the proposals for resolution which are based on these conclusions. It also happens frequently that, for fundamental decisions of the individual ministries and mass organizations, the draft resolutions for these institutions are submitted to the Politburo or to the Secretariat. This can come about on the basis of the already existing quarterly work plans, on the basis of an instruction from the Secretariat or the Politburo, on direct instructions from a member of the Politburo or Secretariat, or on the basis of independent action on the part of the agency concerned. Frequently such instructions are received from First Secretary Walter Ulbricht. Such a draft is prepared by the appropriate ministry or the appropriate mass organization. This draft is worked out in consultation with the appropriate functional department of the Central Committee and, if necessary, revised. After the draft has been prepared, it is not sent in this form to the Politburo or Secretariat, but is rewritten by the corresponding functional department of the Central Committee as though it were a draft prepared by this department. This draft, for tactical reasons, differs in formulation from the other drafts which pertain to the apparatus of the SED. When it is a matter of resolutions which are intended for the support of the appropriate institutions by the SED, they always state, "The Secretariat or the Politburo resolves". Otherwise, when they concern an organization outside the SED the drafts read, for example, "The Politburo or Secretariat instructs the comrades in the appropriate organization", or "The Politburo or Secretariat recommends to the Ministry of Interior, to the Central Council of the FDJ", etc. All important resolutions which concern the government and mass organizations originate in this way (for example, see the resolution on the speech by Comrade Erich Mückenberger at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED,

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21-23 February 1952, concerning the tasks of the Party in support of the FDJ). Fundamental documents of other organizations (for example, resolutions originating in meetings of the Directorate of the FDGB, etc.) are also coordinated in advance with the appropriate functional departments of the Central Committee, then submitted in the original text to the individual members of the Politburo or of the Secretariat and dealt with in those bodies just as other drafts are dealt with. Attached to these drafts are brief resolution drafts which indicate that "the Politburo or Secretariat confirms the draft documents in principle, recommends to the comrades in the leadership of the appropriate organization, however, to make certain changes". This slight difference in formulation between "resolves" and "recommends" or "instructs" is purely a formal differentiation, based on tactical considerations. The SED members in the appropriate institutions are just as completely bound by the so-called recommendations as they are by resolutions. If they did not include one or the other recommendation in their final documents, they would be called to account just as though they had failed to carry out an SED resolution.

Only after such a draft from an institution has passed the above-described way through the Politburo or Secretariat of the Central Committee of the SED does it return to the leadership body of the appropriate organization for formal resolution, and in such cases no substantive changes are possible, since all SED members in the leadership body concerned are bound by the resolutions and recommendations of the SED. Thus the passage of the resolutions in these organs is a pure formality. In this system the dependence of all so-called non-partisan organizations is clearly demonstrated.

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How a Work Plan Originates

Until 1953 the apparatus of the Central Committee of the SED used various forms of work plans. For a description see pp 25 ff.

The Resolution Protocol¹

The role of the resolution protocol has already been dealt with briefly above in the section concerning the resolution draft.

The resolution protocol is an important element in the organization of the work of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as well as all leadership organs of the SED, its mass organizations, and the administrative agencies. The resolution protocol is prepared in the individual Politburo and Secretariat sessions. One particular functionary is responsible for this protocol, a person whose position would be equivalent to that of recording secretary in a bourgeois organization. In the SED this is a responsible functionary, usually a woman, who can take shorthand and who belongs to the Bureau of the Politburo or the Bureau of the Secretariat. As already mentioned, the individual drafts are discussed at the sessions and appropriate revisions are resolved. These resolutions are entered in the resolution protocol with the subject of the draft and its file number. These entries are dictated to the recording secretary after the final resume by the First Secretary. Likewise, brief changes or revisions in

1. In its usage here, the word protocol signifies the final, official record of proceedings, which would represent the finally adopted wording of the resolutions passed.

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the draft are included in the resolution protocol. For example, "Resolution Draft No. --, concerning --, has been resolved with the following changes...." At the same time as the resolution is formulated in the resolution protocol, a note is made of what department, what functionary is responsible for the fulfillment of the resolution and by what specific date the resolution is to be accomplished. If this is a resolution whose fulfillment will take a long period, a number of months -- for example, the resolution of an important conference which is to be carried out on all levels throughout the entire Party -- then interim suspense dates are set in the resolution protocol, and by these dates an interim report is to be submitted on the progress of the program.

It also happens frequently that various members of the Secretariat or the Politburo formulate additional proposals concerning the control and checking on a resolution, and these are also included in the protocol.

If a draft is not approved by the leadership, a note is made in the protocol to the effect that it has been rejected and at the same time the date by which a new draft is to be presented.

It also happens that Secretariat drafts are resolved only in principle, after which specific functionaries are instructed to correct the draft. This always happens when the leadership is in fundamental agreement with the basic line of the draft but so many revisions and changes have been proposed that to formulate them verbatim in the protocol during the session would take too much time. In such a case, then, the draft is resolved in principle and for the most part a member of the Politburo or a member of the Secretariat is instructed to revise it. In such cases the draft need not be resubmitted to the leadership body.

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At the head of every protocol is the number of the session of the Politburo or Secretariat and its date: for example, "45th Session of the Politburo of 27 January."

At the beginning of every Politburo or Secretariat session the protocols of the previous session are read for the orientation of the members and any conflicts or changes which have come up in the meantime are noted at the beginning of the new protocol. However, there is no longer any discussion of the various points of the last protocol.

The Work of the Bureau of the Politburo and of the Secretariat

For the technical preparation of their work, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee use a Bureau. The Bureau collects the drafts submitted to the individual leadership body, prepares an agenda for the session under the direction of the First Secretary, and dispatches a responsible representative of the Bureau to take down the transcript of the resolution protocol.

After the session, the transcribed resolution protocol is typed up in several copies in the Bureau and once more confirmed in draft by the First Secretary, who may make brief changes and then provides the resolution protocol with the confirmation of his signature. In the Bureau, on the basis of this confirmed resolution protocol, the individual resolutions are recorded separately on file cards and placed in the so-called resolution index. This resolution index card is made out in duplicate; one copy remains in the Bureau and the other copy, which is accompanied by a blank perforated card, goes to the department which has been made responsible for the accomplishment of the resolution in its formulation. Attached

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to this second copy, the draft resolution which was submitted by the department to the Secretariat or the Politburo is sent back to the department. If several departments are charged with the accomplishment of the resolution, then several cards with appropriate extracts are made and sent to the individual departments, and in each instance it is noted which other departments have received copies of the resolution.

On the card in the resolution index, in addition to an extract of the protocol, there is included also the date by which the resolution is to be accomplished, those who are responsible for its accomplishment, and all interim reporting dates.

The blank perforated card mentioned above remains in the department concerned only until such time as the resolution has been fulfilled. After the resolution has been fulfilled, the department concerned makes its notations concerning the fulfillment on this card and returns the card to the Bureau of the Politburo or the Secretariat. The Bureau then attaches these final reports to the appropriate cards in the resolution index of the Bureau. Thus the Bureau has at any given time an over-all picture of the extent to which the individual resolutions have been realized.

The Bureau maintains also a suspense date calendar on the basis of which it can determine very quickly what resolutions should have been accomplished for which no cards have been returned to the Bureau. On the basis of this suspense calendar it makes regular checks and also reminds the departments if their reports are not received promptly. For long-term resolutions in connection with which interim reports are supposed to be made, the departments are required to make interim reports to the Bureau. The First

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Secretary of the Central Committee then receives periodic reports from the head of the Bureau on the status of the accomplishment of the resolutions. If it happens that one department, in spite of having been reminded by the Bureau, does not submit a report, or that the reports from a department say nothing and are just formal recognitions of the requirement, then the head of the Bureau informs the First Secretary, who calls in all of the documents concerned and has the matter placed on the agenda for discussion at the next session.

The Bureau is responsible for the transmission of all drafts, for their reproduction, etc. Since, for example, a number of members and candidates of the Politburo have no direct function in the Central Committee, but rather are active full-time in the government or in the mass organizations, the Bureau sends to these members and candidates the appropriate drafts at least two days before the session. This transmission is by courier. All members of the Politburo have for this purpose a leather-bound folder which is used only to hold the drafts which they receive from the Bureau of the Politburo. All drafts which are submitted by the Bureau of the Politburo are considered secret and are accessible only to the members and the candidates of the Politburo.

In addition, it is the job of the Bureau to make the technical arrangements for all invitations of outside functionaries to the individual sessions. For example, if the question of sports is to be dealt with at a Politburo meeting and if the leading Communists in the State Committee for Sports and Physical Culture are to be invited to this session, their invitations are issued by the Bureau of the Politburo. They report to the Bureau at the appropriate time, and when discussion begins on that point of the agenda, they are taken to the Politburo meeting by the head of the Bureau.

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In addition, the Bureau of the Politburo has a number of representational duties. All official functions of the Politburo, important festivals of the Communist movement, etc., are included in a suspense calendar of the Bureau. The Bureau is responsible for seeing to it that the appropriate guests are invited for all these occasions, and also has vis-a-vis the Politburo a responsibility to see to it that these functions are properly planned and carried out. For this purpose, the Bureau contacts the appropriate departments to work out the proceedings for the individual occasions, but the main responsibility vis-a-vis the Politburo lies with the head of the Bureau. The Bureau has lists for the invitations, and these lists contain all persons who might possibly be considered for such invitations. In addition to these tasks, the Bureau of the Politburo and the Secretariat also has a number of special tasks. For example, it is responsible for making available to the members of the Politburo special secretaries and stenographers. It is responsible for the procurement of luxuries and special items which are made available only to the members of the Politburo. It is responsible for the administration of special automobiles for the members of the Politburo, for organizing meals and refreshments during the sessions of the Politburo, etc.

The Bureau of the Politburo and of the Secretariat is one unit. The technical processes, however, are separate. The Politburo deals with all decisive questions of principle in SED policy, all strategic measures of the SED, and all drafts which have a fundamental influence on the life of the SED. These are the lines along which the activity of the Bureau of the Politburo moves. In the Secretariat of the Central Committee they are concerned more with the tactical and organizational problems which arise out of the Politburo resolutions and which contribute

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to their realization and "concretization". Thus, the Bureau of the Politburo and the Secretariat occupies a key position for checking on the resolutions which have been passed, for transmitting them to the departments, and for the technical preparation of the activity of the Politburo or the Secretariat. The Bureau is, so to speak, the organizational, technical backbone of the Central Committee, since the Central Committee plenums themselves -- which, after all, are prepared by the Politburo -- are arranged technically and organizationally by the Bureau.

The Control of the Departments by the Secretariat

In addition to the previously discussed forms of control over the resolutions, there is one additional control of the departments by the Central Committee, which is exercised by the Secretariat. Periodically, usually at intervals of one to two months, the individual departments must report to the Secretariat on the fulfillment of their plans and resolutions. The order in which the individual departments report is usually contained in the quarterly work plan. Only if a special situation should occur in an individual department are such points added to the agenda out of order. In such cases, the department chief reports to the Secretariat on the fulfillment of the resolutions by his department during a certain period and brings up all critical questions of work organization, the relationship among the individual co-workers, etc. Before this point has been dealt with on the agenda, the Secretary has usually commissioned another Secretary or, in particularly serious cases, an entire commission, with making a survey of the department. This special emissary or the head of the commission then gives a counter-report to that of the department chief. There follows a discussion, and at the conclusion resolutions are passed which are supposed to contribute to the improvement

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of the activity of the department concerned. In important cases, the results of such an investigation are contained in a general resolution and distributed throughout the entire apparatus of the Central Committee for information and appropriate action.

The Organization of the Work in the Departments

Aside from the normal course of office business in the departments of the Central Committee, which is probably not greatly different from that in any other large administration or industrial enterprise, there are the following peculiarities in the organization of the work in the departments. The most important connecting link in the guidance of the individual co-workers is the department conference. Depending on whether the department is under the responsibility of a Secretary or of a member of the Politburo, the meeting of the Politburo or the Secretariat is followed by an oral briefing for the department by this functionary. The form of this briefing depends on how many departments are under the jurisdiction of the Secretary or Politburo member, also on how different these departments are and how big they are. If a Politburo member or Secretary has the responsibility for several departments which in character are very different, then he has separate department conferences. If he has only two or three departments whose sphere of work is somewhat similar, he calls the leaderships of these departments together for an overall discussion. If a leading Secretary has so many departments that he has to conduct individual discussions with them, and if the departments are not too large, then he calls all of the leading functionaries -- at least down to sector chief -- together for a department discussion and briefs them on the resolutions of the leadership body concerned. In most cases, however, the Politburo members and Secretaries inform

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only the appropriate department chiefs of the tasks which have been resolved. They, in turn, call in the leading functionaries of their departments, down to sector chief, and inform them of the measures which have to be implemented. Then the sector chiefs sit down with their co-workers and attempt to work out detailed plans for the accomplishment of these tasks. Resolution protocols are recorded for these department and sector discussions also.

Once the individual materials have been prepared by the co-workers on the basis of such conferences, they are submitted to the department chiefs through the sector chiefs, corrected or revised, and approved. For important operations department chiefs submit these materials to the Secretaries or Politburo members, who then make the final decisions.

No co-worker of a department is authorized to correspond on his own with the Party leaderships in the districts and counties. Only the department chief or his official deputy is authorized for official signature, and a sector chief is only permitted to sign off on insignificant technical communications to the subordinate Party units. No department has a Party seal or is authorized to issue on its own circulars or directives to the subordinate Party units. If a department has worked out a directive and if it has been resolved, with or without revisions, then the appropriate department makes the revisions, resubmits the final directive to the Bureau of the Politburo or the Secretariat, depending on which body passed the resolution, and there the directive is provided with a seal, registered, and transmitted to the district leaderships and county leaderships. It is much the same with trips into the provinces. No co-worker of a department can on his own make a trip into the provinces.

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Assignments for such trips are made exclusively on the basis of the department plan or express instructions from the department chief.

Depending on their size, the departments have one or several official vehicles at their disposal, which they can request in writing from time to time from the chief of the motor pool. Only members of the Politburo, Secretaries and some of the department chiefs have their own official cars. Each department has its own registry and file in which it can maintain papers which it needs for its current work. In the course of the year, then, the closed files are sent to the central archives.

For each department, depending on its importance, there are special security provisions. Aside from the daily locking of the doors and sealing of the doors and safes, all classified waste, including carbon paper, must be delivered every evening to a central point where it is put through shredders and incinerator machines.

Each department has a department secretary who is responsible for all of the technical work and who also works for the department chief.

The Courier Apparatus of the Central Committee and the Telephone System

As a rule the Central Committee avoids all correspondence by ordinary mail channels concerning internal instructions for the apparatus of the SED, and also concerning government agencies and mass organizations. Only invitations to official conferences, congresses and demonstrations are sent by mail.

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In principle, the Central Committee has four different courier services. One courier service takes care of transmitting to the Politburo members and to the Secretaries their invitations and their mail, and a second courier service takes care of the corresponding mail for the ministries and leaderships of the mass organizations. A third courier service handles mail for the district leaderships and, if necessary, for the county leaderships. The fourth courier service, which is completely separate from the other three, handles the courier mail to and from West Germany. This courier service is connected with the Bureau of the Politburo and the Secretariat, in all probability.¹

1. The key element in this East-West courier link is the Traffic Department, a special functional element of the SED which has been responsible for all Party and mass organization traffic to and from Western Germany for years. It maintains an extensive network of border crossers, guides, couriers, contact points, etc. (with the connivance and assistance of the East German Border Police), and a complete organization on the West German side which was technically (and technically only) attached to the Organization Department of the West German KPD Party Directorate before the ban of the KPD in August 1957. The responsibility of the Traffic Department was the clandestine transport across the East-West German border of personnel, material, mail and funds. Its first head was Richard Stahlmann, also known as Arthur Illner, a legendary figure in international Communist conspiratorial work and for years a Soviet General Staff agent of very high level; the present head (Stahlmann is "retired" and at odds with Ulbricht) is the former head of the West German element of the Traffic apparatus, Adolf Baier.

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The Bureau of the Politburo and the Secretariat is connected by direct telephone line with all county leaderships and all district leaderships. For this purpose there is a special telephone switchboard in the Central Committee. There are relatively old field telephone sets operated by a crank. After the crank has been turned, the central switchboard answers, and connects the caller with the county or district leadership desired. In addition, the Traffic Department of the Central Committee, which is responsible for all traffic to and from the West German Federal Republic, is connected to this telephone network. Aside from the official telephones of the Central Committee, all members of the Politburo and of the Secretariat have government extensions on which they can reach all ministers, state secretaries, administrations of the armed forces, of the police, the security organs, the SED District for Berlin, the Lord Mayor of East Berlin, and all other leading organs of Berlin, by dialing a three-digit number.

The Technical Co-Workers

In addition to the already-mentioned department secretaries, the Central Committee has between sixty and eighty clerks and typists. Insofar as they are not assigned directly to individual departments for security reasons (for example, to Department M or to the Department for All-German Affairs), these technical co-workers are gathered together in pools. These various pools are under the administration of the Department for Internal Administration, possibly under the Bureau of the Secretariat. All written work for the individual co-workers of the departments which cannot be taken care of by the department secretary must be submitted in handwritten draft to these pools, where they are prepared in the appropriate number of copies.

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All Secretaries and Politburo members have their own secretariat. In these secretariats there is one highly-qualified technical employee, a secretary, who works exclusively for the functionary concerned. Particularly important functionaries, such as Walter Ulbricht and Hermann Matern, have in addition to their secretaries an additional typist who takes care of the most important written work, since the secretaries themselves have organizational and secretarial duties aside from typing.

The typing pools usually work for several departments, since not every department has its own typing pool. As a rule it is organized in such a way that there is one typing pool for several closely related departments.

In addition to the technical employees such as stenographers, typists, and secretaries, the Central Committee also has a large-scale technical apparatus which takes care of all other material requirements of the Central Committee. This includes a large canteen which prepares a noon meal and other meals in the Central Committee building for all the co-workers. All members of the Central Committee apparatus up to sector chief eat in this canteen. From sector chief upwards, the functionaries have the right to eat in the Guest House of the Central Committee, where a much higher quality meal is served. The technical apparatus also includes a number of workers, craftsmen, carpenters, electricians, etc., an extensive bookkeeping department, a department for residence and quarters which provides residences and rooms to all functionaries who are called to Berlin by the Central Committee, and also a large procurement department which takes care of many of the procurement problems of the functionaries, including any requirements they may have while on leave. For this purpose, this department is

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responsible for fitting out and maintaining a number of rest homes in the GDR.

The Central Committee also maintains a central archive of unclassified documents and a very extensive statistical department, both of which are attached to the Department for Leading Organs of the Party and Mass Organizations.

Credentials, Visitors and Security Systems in the Central Committee

For the security of the functionaries and internal documents, the Central Committee has organized an extensive credential and visitors' regulation system. There are various forms of identification documents. All Central Committee members have access to the building of the Central Committee and all buildings equivalent to it, directly and without a special pass, so long as they produce a card which identifies them as a member of the Central Committee.

In addition, there are various kinds of house badges which are identified by various colors. All department chiefs, deputy department chiefs, and sector chiefs have, insofar as they are not members of the Central Committee, a special house badge with their picture and an official seal. The instructors have a house badge which is identified by a different color. These house badges are numbered and have the usual form of a rectangular folder. These badges are valid until recalled, and are called in whenever functionaries are moved. From time to time they are checked and reviewed, and control notes are made in them. With these badges it is possible to enter any floor and any department of the Central Committee. In addition, there are

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house badges for leading functionaries in the government and mass organizations who are neither members of the Central Committee nor paid co-workers of the Central Committee. These functionaries -- examples are secretaries of the mass organizations, state secretaries, main department chiefs, etc. -- receive such badges on orders from the head of the Bureau of the Politburo. The badges consist of a red card made of reinforced linen which contains a photograph, a number, a seal and some personal data. These badges must be renewed every three months, and in each case the renewal is represented by an official stamp indicating the validity for the next quarter. These credentials also authorize entrance into all floors of the Central Committee building with the exception of the third floor, where the chairman of the SED and the members of the Politburo have their offices, also with the exception of the guest house of the Central Committee, the Central Party School, and a few other restricted installations of the SED.

All other visitors to the Central Committee cannot enter the Central Committee building directly. They must first go to the pass office, which is located about 100 to 120 yards from the Central Committee building, and report. First of all, the security functionaries in the pass office record the personal data, take in all Party and personal identity documents, and telephone to the department the visitor is supposed to visit. If this department confirms the visit, a pass is issued and the personal identity document is retained. For non-Party members, the visitor must frequently be taken to a waiting room in the Central Committee building, where he must be picked up by the functionary with whom he wants to talk or by one of the co-workers of the department, so that he does not have any opportunity to wander around unescorted in the building of

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the Central Committee. When he leaves the Central Committee building he must return his visitors' pass stamped and signed by the department he visited.

On every floor in the Central Committee building there is an armed guard who has a list of all functionaries who have their offices on his floor, and who also has a telephone with which he can reach all rooms and also the armed security alert squad. These floor guards consist for the most part of two persons, whereas the guards at the main entrance of the Central Committee building are made up of from four to six men. When a visitor enters one of the floors he is checked by the floor guard. If he has a valid credential, he is permitted to pass. If he has a visitor's pass and was not held at the entrance, he has to wait at the entrance to the floor until the appropriate functionary comes to pick him up. An exception is made for the offices of the Politburo members and of the Secretaries of the Central Committee. These offices can be entered by the holder of a regular credential only if his coming has been announced to the guard for that floor in advance. The guards make up a security group in the Central Committee of the SED. They are members of the SED, have had political training, and are subordinate to a special office of State Security. They are probably attached to the Berlin Guard Battalion, but receive their orders from the Central Committee of the SED, specifically from the head of the Bureau of the Politburo.¹ To this security

1. This situation prevailed up to early 1957. After the liquidation of Lavrentiy P. Beriya and the abortive East German popular revolt of 17 June 1953 (which was put down only by force of Soviet armed intervention), however, East German State Security (then a Ministry) underwent a process

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group is also attached the personal body-guard service of the Central Committee. All Politburo members and candidates have a personal bodyguard. These guards, who are supposed to be constantly in the company of the leading functionary for whose safety they are responsible, also belong to the guard group, are trained by the State Security Service, and also are subordinate to a special department of the Ministry for State Security.

of denigration. The Minister was purged and charged with an attempt to take power in opposition to Ulbricht and company, and the Ministry itself became a State Secretariat within the Ministry of Interior. In 1953, the functions and responsibilities of State Security were limited, and among other things the special section thereof which was charged with investigations of high-level political figures, including those in the SED leadership (an analogy to the job held by Polish defector Josef Swiatlo), was dissolved. However, the special guard units belonging to the Berlin Guard Battalion, including those for the SED buildings proper, were a part of the special category of "Interior Troops" under State Security until January 1957, when they were placed under the Ministry of Interior. A special department of State Security is still responsible for the internal security of these units.

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